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A COMMUNICATIVE MODEL FOR THEATRE TRANSLATION: VERSIONS OF *OEDIPUS THE KING* IN ENGLISH

BY

EKATERINI NIKOLAREA

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

DEPARTMENT OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE & FILM STUDIES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
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Ekaterini NIKOLAREA
Department of Comparative Literature
& Film Studies
University of Alberta
347 Arts Bldg
Edmonton, AB
CANADA T6G 2E6

2 September 1994

ἕν οἶδα ὅτι οὐδέν οἶδα.

I know one thing that I know nothing.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a dissertation entitled A COMMUNICATIVE MODEL FOR THEATRE TRANSLATION: VERSIONS OF *OEDIPUS THE KING* IN ENGLISH submitted by Ekaterini Nikolarea in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

E.D. Blodgett

Prof. E.D. Blodgett, Co-Supervisor

Milan V. Dimić

Prof. Milan V. Dimić, Co-Supervisor

Dr. John A. Hawkins, Co-Supervisor

Dr. Nasrin Rahimieh

Dr. Paul A. Robberecht

WR Beard

Dr. William R. Beard, Chair

WR Beard pro

Dr. Haijo J. Westra, External Examiner

25 August 1994

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated:

Τῷ ... μόνῳ σοφῷ Θεῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν, δόξα καὶ μεγαλωσύνη,
κράτος καί ἐξουσία καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς πάντας τούς αἰῶνας.

To God our Saviour,
Who alone is wise,
Be glory and magesty,
Dominion and power,
Both now and forever.

Jude 25

ABSTRACT

This is a study of how the notions of Greek tragedy have been perceived and constructed by the English-speaking world through translations and performances in Restoration England and since late nineteenth century.

The first part of this dissertation (Chapter I) focuses on the contemporary theoretical frameworks of the semiotics of theatre/drama and translation studies which, while shedding new light on the complex process of translating a theatre text, have been recently polarized between preference for a performance-oriented translation and a reader-oriented translation. In order to decipher the multi-layered process of interlingual and cross-cultural theatre communication, we use Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* as a test case to see how one Greek tragedy has been constructed by British and North American translators, producers and performers.

The second and largest part of this research (Chapters II, III, IV and V) is devoted to Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* and its subsequent translations and performances in English towards the end of the nineteenth and during the twentieth century. We follow three steps of investigation. First, in Chapter II, we examine how the process of the intralingual and intracultural communication takes place; that is, the relationship of the addresser (Sophocles) with his message (*Oedipus the King*) and his addressees (the Athenian audience of the fifth century B.C.E). Second, we try to understand how the first contact between Sophocles and his translators, directors and actors occurred.

The third and final step of the second part of this research (Chapters III, IV and V) is the multi-layered process of interlingual and cross-cultural communication. While working on English translations and performances of this Sophoclean tragedy, we take into consideration the interaction and interdependence between the translators, producers and actors and their societies and the constant changes of the "dramatic" and "theatrical" conventions. Furthermore, when comparing these translations and their performances, we try to point out--when possible--why translators made particular choices, what strategies they followed, what they aimed for in the target culture, and how the performances of their translations helped in the reception of *Oedipus the King* by the English-speaking world.

The final part of this study (Chapter VI) is two-fold. First, it focuses on the results of this research, that is, how Greek tragedy in general and *Oedipus the King* in particular have been perceived and constructed by the English-speaking world through translations and performances since late nineteenth century. Second, it proposes an integrated communicative model for theatre translation that ventures to resolve the current polarization between preference for a performance-oriented translation and a reader-oriented translation.

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This study would not exist without the financial, intellectual and emotional support of individuals and institutions to whom I owe a debt of gratitude. I am especially grateful to the Department of Comparative Literature and Film Studies, The Killam Trusts in Canada and the Graduate Scholarship Committee of the University of Alberta who awarded me with Resarch and Teaching Assistanships, a Pre-Doctoral Izaak Walton Killam Memorial Scholarship, a Province of Alberta Graduate Fellowship and an Andrew Stewart Memorial Graduate Prize and, thus, enabled me to carry out the research required for this dissertation.

Furthermore, my special thanks are due to my supervisors Professors E.D. Blodgett, M.V. Dimić, and John A. Hawkins who read and commented on the various drafts of the manuscript and often made me reflect on and alter parts of both the theoretical background and the practical analysis of this study. I thank them for their forbearance and their good sense of humour, especially when things appeared to be rough.

I also owe great thanks to Dr. Westra, the external reader of this dissertation, who kindly suggested to me how to improve parts of the manuscript in order to make them more accessible to readers who know nothing about theatre translation.

Nevertheless, this study would never have been materialized had several people not helped me generously and consistently. Scholars such as Susan Bassnett (University of Warwick), E.D. Blodgett (University of Alberta), M.V. Dimić (University of Alberta), Robert Fagles (Princeton University), Carl Hare (University of Alberta), John A. Hawkins (University of Alberta) and Gideon Toury (Tel Aviv University) provided me with material and references without which a substantial part of this dissertation could not have been written. Computer specialists like Terry Butler (University of Alberta) made me overcome my fear of computers and showed me how new computer technology is not necessarily a series of frustration but rather a great blessing. Last but not least, I owe many thanks to the staff of the Interlibrary Loan Division of the University of Alberta Library who have been incredibly helpful since January 1990.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the dawn of history, communication across language and culture barriers has been a part of human communication, and it is probable that this interlingual, intercultural and cross-cultural communication has never been more important and necessary than today. The worldwide interdependence in areas such as humanities, science, economics, and politics has generated an extraordinary need for a continuous exchange of information in spoken, written, and visual forms. Under these circumstances translation practice--besides foreign language learning--is the most fundamental form of interlingual, intercultural and cross-cultural communication. Every day, innumerable letters, instructions, specialist texts, literary texts, and a wide variety of criticism and scholarship are translated to make communication easier.

Because translation studies is such a wide field, we shall narrow the scope and the object of this study into a genre-specific segment of literary translation: theatre translation. Yet, because we want to investigate whether the existing theoretical polarization between readability and performability in translating theatre texts is valid, we shall take as a test case one of the most discussed, translated and performed Greek tragedies in the English-speaking world: Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*. After we have organized, classified, examined and discussed a large corpus of English translations, adaptations and stage productions of this Sophoclean tragedy from Restoration England onwards, we shall try to show how these translations and their theatrical productions defy any definitive polarities between readability and performability, and we shall propose a working hypothesis for theatre translation.

Chapter I focuses on two contemporary theoretical frameworks: the semiotics of theatre/drama and theatre translation, and the indebtedness of the latter to the former. It also describes how translation theoreticians and theatre semioticians, trying to discuss the complex process of translating a theatrical text, have polarized the theory of theatre translation between the concepts of readability and performability since the mid-1980s. At one extreme, Susan Bassnett, dismissing any notion of performability, invites scholars to develop a historiography of theatre translation and an investigation into the linguistic structure of existing texts as theatre.[1] At the other extreme, Patrice Pavis advocates that "real" translation takes place only when the translated text is performed on stage.[2] To test whether this scholarly debate is actual or simply theoretical, we have chosen Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* as a test case to decipher the multi-layered process of interlingual, intercultural and cross-cultural communication.

---

[1] Susan Bassnett, "Translating for the Theatre: The Case Against Performability" *TTR* IV.1 (1991) 99-111.

[2] Patris Pavis, "Problems of Translation for the Stage: Intercultural and Post-Modern Theatre," trans. Loren Kruger, *The Play Out of Context. Transferring Plays from Culture to Culture*, eds. Hanna Scolnicov and Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 25-44.

As soon as we set this goal, however, we realized that the nature of cross-cultural theatrical communication by its very nature is to be found not only in the intersection of two different languages and cultures, but also in the changes in "dramatic" and "theatrical" conventions. Furthermore, we came to understand that this kind of project is interdisciplinary and demands, besides a good background in translation theory and practice, a very solid knowledge of classical scholarship and history of theatre/drama. Therefore, Chapter II is a multi-faceted effort. First, it is an attempt to provide an outline of the socio-cultural and political milieu out of which Greek tragedy developed plus a brief history of the mechanics of a Greek theatrical production in fifth-century Athens. Second, it discusses some dramatic and theatrical aspects of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* providing us with a glimpse at the tripartite relationship of every communicative situation: the addresser (Sophocles), the orally-transmitted message (the theatrical performance of *Oedipus the King*) and the addressees (the fifth-century Athenian audience). To put it in other words, Chapter II tries to capture the process by which intralinugal and intracultural theatrical communication can be realized.

Chapters III, IV and V deal in much detail with the multi-layered process of interlingual, intercultural and cross-cultural theatrical communication, that is how a Greek tragedy like *Oedipus the King* has been perceived and received by the English-speaking world through imitations, translations, theatrical performances and other means of communication from Restoration England onwards. Trying to find an answer to the question why Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* has been imitated, translated, adapted and performed repeatedly, we discover that we first have to find and then organize, classify and categorize, a large corpus of data that have never been described before.[3]

While describing English imitations, translations and performances of this Sophoclean tragedy, we consider that translators, producers and performers do not live and function in a vacuum. Thus we try to show that changes in dramatic and theatrical conventions have had substantial effect not only upon translators, producers and actors but also upon a larger public. It is interesting to see, for example, why *Oedipus the King* has been either treated as a literary text or translated for stage performance. On the one hand, it seems that while *Oedipus* was initially translated into prose, or verse, or prose and verse for a scholarly and a more general readership, it has also been used for theatrical performances (i.e. Jebb's, Murray's Fagles's versions of *Oedipus*). On the other hand, when this Sophoclean play was initially translated for stage performance, it was also used for a general readership (i.e. Yeats's, Cook's, Spender's, Taylor's versions). In addition, we compare some translations with their theatrical productions and try to see how the latter helped in the reception of *Oedipus the King* by the English-speaking world.

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[3] With the partial exception of: (1) Finley M.K. Foster, *English Translations from the Greek: A Bibliographical Survey* (New York: AMS P, 1966), the first and the only effort up to the present to compile a survey which is, nonetheless, sketchy and incomplete; and (2) J. Michael Walton, ed. *Living Greek Theatre: A Handbook of Classical Performance and Modern Production* (New York: Greenwood P, 1987), which refers to contemporary productions of *Oedipus* in both England and North America (329-54 and 355-81 respectively) without, however, mentioning any translations at all.

Furthermore, while studying the corpus of our study, we sometimes observe drastic paradigm shifts in the reception of this Sophoclean drama. We also discover that responsible for these shifts are various social discourses and a discernible differentiation in the structure of British and North American target systems (TSs). After this observation, we try to determine how the relationship between various social discources and the establishment of various departments (i.e. departments of classical philology, of drama, and of comparative literature) affected the canonization of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus the King* and generated many different, but overlapping English publics, which in turn resulted in a great demand for translations, performances, filmed or radio broadcast versions of Greek tragedy in general and *Oedipus the King* in particular.

In Chapter VI, after we have analyzed a great number of translations and theatrical performances of *Oedipus the King* and their reception by a wider English TS, we hope to be able to demonstrate why theoretical constructs like readability and performability, when applied to the historical functioning of actual translations and performances of a play like *Oedipus the King*, seem rather a reductionist illustion.

Therefore, after we have summarized some very basic observations of the actual English translations and performances of *Oedipus*, we shall discuss why and how centuries of actual translations and performances of one source text can defy any current scholarly debate between readability and performability. We shall also argue that, although the theoretical notions of readability and performability are of a certain value, Bassnett's and Pavis's theory regarding theatre translation are rather limited. Finally, from our observations of the reception of an old play like Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*, we shall venture to propose a working hypothesis, a communication model for theatre translation, hoping that, when altered slightly, it can also accommodate translations and performances of recently written theatrical texts.

CHAPTER I

INTERRELATIONSHIP OF TWO THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS: SEMIOTICS OF THEATRE/DRAMA AND THEATRE TRANSLATION

Introduction

This chapter focuses on two contemporary theoretical frameworks: the semiotics of theatre/drama and theatre translation. It also describes how Susan Bassnett and Patrice Pavis, a translation theoretician and theatre semiotician respectively, in trying to discuss the complex process of translating a theatrical text, have polarized the theory of theatre translation between the concepts of readability and performability since the mid-1980s.

1. Semiotics of Theatre and Drama

1.1. Zich and Mukařovský

The earliest works which discussed theatre in semiotic terms can be traced to Czechoslovakia around the 1930s. During that period, literary critics like Otamar Zich, Jan Mukařovský, Jiří Veltruský, Jindřich Honzl and Peter Bogatyrëv attempted to analyze the components of theatre in terms of structures and signs systems. It was as early as 1931 when Zich's *Aesthetics of the Art of Drama* and Mukařovský's "An Attempted Structural Analysis for the Phenomenon of the Actor"[4] were published, destined to change the analysis of theatre and drama. These two pioneering works laid the foundations for the rich corpus of theatrical and dramatic theory produced by the semioticians of the Prague School in the 1930s.

On the one hand, in his *Aesthetics of the Art of Drama*, Zich approached theatre claiming that it consists of heterogeneous but interdependent systems, none of which has special prominence. He was the first among theatre semioticians to deny the written text any automatic dominance in the other systems; instead, he saw it as just one of the systems which participates in the making up of the theatre as a total dramatic representation. Both his emphasis on the interrelationship between heterogeneous and interdependent systems in the theatre, and his refusal to give special prominence to any of the components involved in theatrical performance, had a considerable impact on later semioticians, and they are still haunting different theories of theatre semiotics.

On the other hand, applying to art the Saussurian definition of the sign, Mukařovský took the stance that the work of art resides in the collective consciousness of the public,[5] and identified it as the semiotic unit whose *signifier* is the work itself and the *signified* the "aesthetic object." For Mukařovský, this application represents the first step towards a semiotics of performance, in which the performance text becomes a macro-sign whose meaning is constituted by its total effect. The importance of this approach for the semiotics of theatre and drama lies in two different but closely related factors. First, it emphasizes the subordination of all constituents to a unified whole, and the importance of the audience as the maker of meanings of this whole (macro-sign). Second, it views the performance not as a single sign, but as a network of semiotic units belonging to different but cooperative systems.

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[4] Keir Elam, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama* (London & New York: Methuen, 1980) 5-6 and 233.

1.2. Bogatyrëv and Honzl

There were, however, two other semioticians of the Prague School, Peter Bogatyrëv and Jindřich Honzl, who made the most significant contributions to theatre or to "stage semiotization," as it was called much later. In his "Semiotics in the Folk Theater,"[6] Bogatyrëv was the first who tried to delineate the elementary components of theatrical semiosis by discussing the *mobility*, *flexibility* and *dynamism* of theatrical signs. When he refers to the transformability of the theatrical signs, Bogatyrëv means primarily the way in which the signs can shift both in their own right and in the way in which they are perceived. To illustrate this polysemy of the theatrical signs he gives two of his most famous examples: *an ermine cape* and *a starving man eating a loaf of bread*. In the first case, an ermine cape is a sign of royalty in the theatre, even if it is actually made of rabbit fur. In the case of a starving man eating a loaf of bread on stage, however, the loaf of bread does not have any sign value in its own right but exists only as an object to be utilized by an actor, for the sign here is not the loaf but the act of eating it. Consequently, signs in the theatre, maintains Bogatyrëv, assume a set of values and functions in their own right and become infinitely changeable and complex. By advancing the thesis that the stage bestows upon all bodies and objects a signifying power which they may lack in their normal social function, Bogatyrëv was the first semiotician who brought up the signifying function of all performance elements.[7]

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[5] Jan Mukařovský, "The Art as a Semiological Fact," *Semiotics of Art: Prague School Contributions*, eds. L. Matejka and I.R. Titunik (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT P, 1976) 3-9. This article was originally written in 1934 but published in 1936.

[6] Peter Bogatyrëv, "Semiotics in the Folk Theater," *Semiotics of Art: Prague School Contributions*, eds. L. Matejka and I.R. Titunik (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT P, 1976) 33-49; or as "Les signes du théâtre," *Poétique* VIII (1971) 517-30. It was initially published in 1938.

[7] The same position was also taken by Jiří Veltruský in his very succinct statement, "[a]ll that is on the stage is a sign"; see Jiří Veltruský, "Man and Object in the Theater," *A Prague School Reader on Esthetics, Literary Structure and Style*, ed. Paul L. Garvin (Washington: Georgetown UP, 1964) 84.

Two years after Bogatyrëv's article, Jindřich Honzl, too, contributed to a better understanding of the perception and the changeability of the theatrical signs. In his article "Dynamics of Sign in the Theater,"[8] Honzl conceives the structure of the theatrical performance as a dynamic hierarchy of elements which cannot be determined *a priori*, and emphasizes that the changeability of this structure corresponds to the transformability of the theatrical signs. Moreover, Honzl finds that the audience's ability to read signs adds an extra dimension of complexity; he notes that there are times when "one of the components submerges below the surface of the spectator's conscious attention"[9] because the audience's attention to dialogue or dramatic action may either push the visual components into the background or nullify acoustical perception.

1.3. Tadeusz Kowzan

After those stimulating studies on theatre by the Prague School semioticians around the 1930s, little work on the problems of theatrical semiosis was produced for two decades. Tadeusz Kowzan, the Polish semiotician, took up the heritage of the Prague School of Semiotics, and revitalized theatrical and dramatic studies. In both his article "Le signe au théâtre: introduction à la sémiologie de l'art du spectacle"[10] and his book *Littérature et spectacle*,[11] Kowzan reasserts the basic Prague School principles--the semiotization of the object, and the transformability and connotative range of the stage sign--and endeavours to establish a typology of the theatrical signs and sign systems.

In an effort to codify and describe the theatrical signs and sign systems, Kowzan draws the first distinction between *natural* and *artificial* signs. The *natural signs*, he claims, include phenomena that spring forth and exist without the participation of human will and are also emitted involuntarily (i.e. a flash of lightning: the sign of storm, fever: the sign of disease etc.). The *artificial signs* depend upon the intervention of human volition to signal or communicate something to someone.[12] This opposition is by no means absolute and serves Kowzan in the formulation of an additional principle: the "artificialization" of the apparently natural signs on stage.

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[8] Jindřich Honzl, "Dynamics of Sign in the Theater," *Semiotics of Art: Prague School Contributions*, eds. L. Matejka and I.R. Titunik (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT P, 1976) 74-93. This article was initially written in 1940; hereafter it will be quoted as Honzl.

[9] Honzl 90.

[10] Tadeusz Kowzan, "Le signe au théâtre: introduction à la sémiologie de l'art du spectacle," *Diogène* 61 (1968) 59-60; or as "The Sign in the Theater: An Introduction to the Semiology of the Art of the Spectacle," trans. Simon Pleasance, *Diogenes* 61 (1968) 52-80. Henceforth the French original will be referred to as "Le signe au théâtre," while its English translation as "The Sign in the Theater."

[11] Tadeusz Kowzan, *Littérature et spectacle* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975).

[12] "Le signe au théâtre," 67; or "The Sign in the Theater" 59.

> Le spectacle transforme les signes naturels en signes artificiels (l'éclair), il a donc le pouvoir d' «artificialiser» les signes. Même s'ils ne sont dans la vie que réflexes, ils deviennent au théâtre des signes volontaires. Même si, dans la vie, ils n'ont pas de fonction communicative, ils l'obtiennent nécessairement sur la scène. ("Le signe au théâtre" 68)[13]

When Kowzan asserts that phenomena assume a signifying function on stage to the extent that their relation to what they signify is perceived as being deliberately intended, what he actually does is to rephrase and refine the law of stage semiotization first developed by Bogatyrëv, Veltruský and Honzl.

In addition to his attempt to define the idea and the specificity of signs, Kowzan also proposes a model for determining the constituent parts of theatre by establishing thirteen sign systems as basic components of theatre. These sign systems establish two main categories of signs, the *auditive* and *visual*, which are located inside or outside the actor, and exist in time and place. More analytically, these signs are categorized as follows:

1. *auditive* signs which, being part of the spoken text, are emitted by the actor and exist only in time. Such sings are: word (system 1) and tone (system 2).
2. *visual* signs which, classified as the "expression of the body," are located in the actor and exist in both time and space. Such signs are: mime (system 3), gesture (system 4) and movement (system 5).
3. *visual* signs which, codified as the "actor's external appearance," are also situated in the actor but exist only in space. Such signs are: make-up (system 6), hair-style (system 7) and costume (system 8).
4. *visual* signs which, called the "appearance of the stage" (or "aspect du lieu scénique"), are placed outside the actor and exist both in time and space. Such signs are: accessories (system 9), decor (system 10) and lighting (system 11).
5. *auditive* signs which, classified under the "inarticulate sounds" (or "effets sonores non articulés"), can be found only outside the actor and exist only in time. Such signs are: music (system 12) and sound effects (system 13).[14]

The implications of this systematic analysis and codification of the sign systems are of great importance for the language in which a theatre text is written, for it indicates that language as such is only one sign in the network of *auditive* and *visual* signs which unfold in time and space. Furthermore, Kowzan's analysis shows that any written theatre text contains within it a set of *extralinguistic* systems (i.e. pitch, intonation, accent etc.) as well as an *undertext* (or a gestural text) that determines the movements an actor can make while speaking that text.

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[13] Or as its English translation reads, "[t]he spectacle transforms natural signs into artificial ones (a flash of lightning), so it can "artificialize" signs. Even if they are only reflexes in life, they become voluntary signs in the theater. Even if they have no communicative function in life, they necessarily acquire it on stage" ("The Sign in the Theater" 60).

[14] For the table of the various sorts of sensory perception of signs see Kowzan's "Le signe au théâtre" 83, "The Sign in the Theater" 73, or *Littérature et spectacle* 172.

1.4. Anne Ubersfeld

Another semiotician who was of the opinion that the linguistic system is only one optional system in a set of interrelated systems that comprise the spectacle was Anne Ubersfeld. In her *Lire le théâtre*,[15] Ubersfeld calls our attention to two important points: first, that any notion of theatre must see written text and performance as indissolubly linked; and, second, that the written text is incomplete (*troué*) in itself. Starting with the premise that theatre consists of the dialectical relationship between (*written*) *text* and *performance*, she argues that it is impossible to separate these two (text and performance), and points out how an artificial distinction between the two has led to the pre-eminence of the written text.[16] In her opinion, the root of the problem is the perception of performance as a "translation." This position, based primarily on the concept of *semantic equivalence* between the written text and its performance, reinforces the belief that the context of the expression will remain identical when transferred from the linguistic sign system to a system of performance signs (Ubersfeld 15-16). Such an attitude is very dangerous, reasons Ubersfeld, because it leads to the assumption that there is a single right way of reading, and hence performing, the text. Eventually, any deviation by the director can be subjected to a value judgement that will assess both his/her "translation" as more or less deviant from the correct norm which, in this case, is the written text. Finally, according to Ubersfeld, a notion of theatre that sees written text and performance apart will lead unavoidably to criticism of anyone who appears to offend against the purity of the written text.

When she discusses the incompleteness of the written text (a text *troué*), however, Ubersfeld cannot help but emphasize close textual work. Citing as an example the opening scene of *Le Misanthrope* (*The Misanthrope*) by Molière, she points out that readers know nothing about the contextual situation from the text alone and may ask themselves questions such as: are the two characters already there, on stage? When or how do they arrive? Do they run, or not? Which one follows the other and how? (Ubersfeld 24). To answer these questions, the readers, maintains Ubersfeld, have to do a very close textual scrutiny and consider also the time in which the performance takes place. The importance of Ubersfeld's analysis lies in making a distinction between the written text (T), the performance (P) and a text that is mediated between the two but is a necessary component of the final product (T1). Hence, she sets out the equation T+T1 = P, where T1 is the text that provides the answers to the questions posed by the gaps in T. Finally, Ubersfeld posits the question of the boundaries of the written text and the possible existence of an inner text to be read between the lines.

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[15] Anne Ubersfeld, *Lire le théâtre* (Paris: Éditions sociales, 1974); henceforth it will be referred to as Ubersfeld.

[16] It is quite significant that two years later Patrice Pavis described the same situation but in a different wording. In *Problèmes de sémiologie théâtrale* (Montréal: Presses de l' Université de Québec, 1976), he comments that theatre semiotics has risen in reaction against the "textual imperialism" and declares that the text has been restored to its place, that is to be one system among others in the whole of the performance.

2. Theatre Translation

2.1. Bassnett in the early 1980s

Though the semioticians of the Prague School, as well as Kowzan and Ubersfeld offer different approaches to the study of theatre, they all agree that the dramatic text (the written text or literature proper) is only an optional system among other interrelated systems that comprise the spectacle, and see it as radically conditioned by its performability. This attitude toward the dramatic text in theatre semiotics not only opens new perspectives to drama studies and theatrical practice but also has great impact upon the field of translation studies. It is especially the challenging notion of playability or performability that has led some theoreticians of translation studies to re-examine their position towards translating theatre texts. In the 1980s Susan Bassnett, following current tendencies in the semiotics of theatre and drama, argued that theatre has been one of the most neglected areas in translation studies, mainly because it has become common practice to translate dramatic texts in the same way as prose texts.[17]

Assuming that a theatre text should be read differently, Bassnett asserts that a dramatic text is a fully-rounded unit only when it is performed, since it is in the performance that its full potential is realized. But if a theatre text must be read differently, wonders Bassnett, then does the theatre translator translate the playtext as a purely literary text or does s/he try to translate it in its function within the complex system of the spectacle? (Bassnett, *Translation Studies* 120) Trying to answer this fundamental question, Bassnett asserts that it is impossible to separate text from performance since theatre is constituted by the dialectical relation between these two components. Following

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[17] Susan Bassnett, "Translating Dramatic Texts," *Translation Studies* (London & New York: Methuen, 1980) 120-32; hereafter it will be referred to as Bassnett, *Translation Studies*.

Ubersfeld's argument against the supremacy of the literary text[18] and the perception of performance as merely a "translation," Bassnett, too, maintains that when the literary text acquires a higher status than its performance counterpart the misconception results that there is a single right way of reading and hence performing the text. If this were so, then the translator would be bound to a rigid preconceived model of translation and is to be judged according to how far his/her translation is "faithful" to or deviant from the written text (Bassnett, *Translation Studies* 121).

Having discovered the Prague School semioticians' and Kowzan's discussions of the extralinguistic and paralinguistic dimensions of the theatre text, Bassnett was one of the first scholars in translation studies to point out that the theatre translator faces two additional criteria to those faced by the translator of prose or poetry. The first criterion is that of playability or performability,[19] and the second that of the function of the text (translation) itself. The second criterion is a derivative of the first since the function of a theatre text presupposes the written text to be a constituent of performance. Examining to what degree the notion of performability can be applied to theatre translation, Susan Bassnett describes the importance of this concept in its implications for theatre translation. On the one hand, performability implies a distinction between the idea of the written text and the physical aspect of the performance, and, on the other hand, it presupposes that the theatre text contains within its structure some features that make it performable: a coded gestural patterning. Then Bassnett postulates that, if performability is seen as a prerequisite for the theatre translator, the translator is required to determine which structures are performable and to translate them into the target language (TL), even though major linguistic and stylistic changes may occur; and this is, of course, something different from what the translator of other types of text does.

Nevertheless, the theatre translator encounters another side of performability: its continual change. According to Bassnett, since performance is determined by the various developments in acting style, playing space, the role of the audience, the altered concepts of theatre and the national context, the translator has to take into account time and place as the variables in the change of the concept of performance. In other words, Bassnett continues, the theatre translator must consider the performance aspect of the written text (its gestural patterning) as well as its relationship to its contemporary audience. Yet, the presence of the audience itself indicates that the function of theatre goes beyond a strictly linguistic level and reveals the public dimension of the written text. If this is so, then Bassnett sees the second criterion in the prerequisites for the theatre translator coming into effect: "the translator must take into account *the function* of the text as an element for and of performance" (Bassnett, *Translation Studies* 132; emphasis added).

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[18] In her article "The Translator in the Theatre," Susan Bassnett argues against any supremacy of the "written word" in theatre when stressing "the difficulty of seeing the written text as the point of departure from which the rest of theatre begins, ... is to attribute to the written word an unjustly high status. The written text, after all, is there to be utilized in the total process which is theatre and cannot be awarded any special supreme place" (*Theatre Quaterly* X. 40 (1981) 38).

[19] One of the first scholars and stage directors to mention the term playability was Robert W. Corrigan, "Translating for Actors," *The Craft and Context of Translation*, eds. W. Arrowsmith and R. Shattuck (Austin, Tx: U of Texas, 1961) 95-106.

2.2. Bassnett in the mid-1980s

If these were Bassnett's attitudes towards translating theatre texts in the early 1980s, in 1985 her position changed drastically. In her article "Ways through the Labyrinth: Strategies and Methods for Translating Theatre Texts,"[20] she defines performability as a "very vexed term" and dismisses it as "the implicit, undefined and undefineable quality of a theatre text that so many translators latch on to as a justification for their various linguistic stategies" (Bassnett, "Ways through the Labyrinth" 90 and 101-102 respectively). Moreover, she discards her own previous position which acknowledged the translator's need to consider also undertextual rhythms and gestural language, which are within the written text and discernible.[21]

In this article, she admits that her early theory of the theatre translator considering an existing undertext in the written text, decoded by the actor and encoded into gestural form, is "a loose and woolly concept" (Bassnett, "Ways through the Labyrinth" 98). The solution which she favours now is to inquire into the *deictic units* of the text and analyse how *deixis* operates in both the source language (SL) and TL texts.[22] In her opinion, an investigation of the function of the deictic units in the SL text will help translation scholars to discern which units are preserved in the TL text, what their presence or absence may signify and what happens to dynamics of the scene when these units are altered during the transfer from the SL into the TL (Bassnett, "Ways through the Labyrinth" 98). She further emphasizes that it is not the presence of the deictic units per se but *their function in the text* which is of great importance (Bassnett, "Ways through the Labyrinth" 101; emphasis added).

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[20] Susan Bassnett, "Ways through the Labyrinth: Strategies and Methods for Translating Theatre Texts," *The Manipulation of Literature*, ed. Theo Hermans (London: Croom Helm & New York: St Martin's, 1985) 87-102. Henceforth it will be referred to as Bassnett, "Ways through the Labyrinth."

[21] She held that position in her articles "Translating Spatial Poetry: An Examination of Theatre Texts in Performance," *Literature and Translation*, eds. J.S. Holmes et al. (Leuven: ACCO, 1978) 161-76 and "The Translator in the Theatre," *Theatre Quaterly* X. 40 (1981) 37-48, as well as in her book *Translation Studies* (London & New York: Methuen, 1980)120-32.

[22] For a discussion of *deictic units* and *deixis* see Keir Elam, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama* (London & New York: Methuen, 1980) 138-48.

The most surprising aspect of this article might be Bassnett's concluding remarks, "[i]t seems to me that the time has come to set aside "performability" as a criterion for translating too, and to focus more closely on the linguistic structures of the text itself. For, after all, it is only within the written that the performable can be encoded and there are infinite performance decodings possible in any playtext. The written text *troué* though it may be, is the raw material on which the translator has to work and it is with the written text, rather that with a hypothetical performance, that the translator must begin" (Bassnett, "Ways through the Labyrinth" 102). For a translation theoretician who cautioned against the danger lurking in the pre-eminence of the written text in the spectacle in the early 1980s, to write an article a few years later reclaiming the supremacy of the literary text, is a drastic as well as a dramatic change of position.

2.3. Bassnett and Pavis in the late 1980s

If this seemed to be the attitude towards translating theatre texts in the 1980s, in the early 1990s it seems that the theory of theatre translation has been polarized between two extremes: that of *performability* [*mise en scène*] and that of *readability* [*written text*]. On the one extreme, Patrice Pavis, in his article "Problems of Translation for the Stage: Intercultural and Post-Modern Theatre,"[23] claims that translation for the stage goes beyond the interlingual translation of the dramatic text, and advocates that "a real *translation* takes place on the level of the *mise en scène* as a whole" (Pavis 41; author's emphasis). On the other extreme, Susan Bassnett, in her most recent articles, "Translating for the Theatre--Textual Complexities" and "Translating for the Theatre: The Case Against Performability,"[24] argues against any idea of performability and discredits any notion of performance-oriented translation. Instead, she emphasizes the written theatre text.

2.3.1. Pavis's views on theatre translation

Patrice Pavis starts his article "Problems of Translation for the Stage: Intercultural and Post-Modern Theatre"[25] with four problems peculiar to translation for the stage: (1) the intersection of situations of enunciation; (2) the series of concretizations of a theatre text; (3) the conditions of theatre translation reception; and (4) the *mise en scène* of a translation. Dealing with the first problem, he maintains that there are two situations of enunciation: that which belongs exclusively to either the source or target culture (SC or TC), and that which is a mixture of the two (SC and TC). Pavis tends to believe that the translator and his/her translation are both situated at the intersection of sets of enunciation of differing degrees, a situation that is a mixture of both source and target cultures (SC and TC). For him, the translated text always forms part of the source and target text and culture because any transfer involves the source text's multiple dimensions adapted to the TL and TC. And it is the written source text (ST) that the translator usually takes as the point of departure. Nevertheless, the translator, continues Pavis, knows that the translation cannot preserve the original situation of enunciation because it is intended for a future situation of enunciation with which the translator may not be familiar at all. It is only when the translated text is staged for the target audience and culture that the text is surrounded by a situation of enunciation belonging exclusively to the TC. Thus, the translation is the place in which the intersection of the situations of enunciation occurs in differing degrees. Furthermore, Pavis holds that the theatre translation is a hermeneutic act, since its main purpose is to pull the ST towards the TL and TC, separating it from its source and origin (Pavis 25-27).

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[23] Patrice Pavis, "Problems of Translation for Stage: Intercultural and Post-Modern Theatre," *The Play Out of Context: Transferring Plays from Culture to Culture*, trans. Loren Kruger, eds. Hanna Scolnicov and Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 25-44. Hereafter it will be referred to as Pavis.

[24] See: (1) Susan Bassnett, "Translating for the Theatre--Textual Complexities," *Essays in Poetics* 15.1 (1990): 71-83; and (2) Susan Bassnett, "Translating for the Theatre: The Case Against Performability," *TTR* IV.1 (1991) 99-111. Henceforth the first article will be quoted as Bassnett, "Textual Complexities" and the second as Bassnett, "The Case Against Performability."

[25] Pavis 25-44.

Discussing the series of concretizations, the second problem peculiar to translation for the stage, Pavis tries to reconstruct the transformations of the dramatic text in the course of successive concretizations as follows:

To= the original text which is "the author's interpretation of reality."[26]

T = the text of the written translation.

T1= T which depends upon the initial and virtual situation of enunciation of To and on the future audience who will receive T3 and T4. In this instance, the translator is both a reader and dramaturge making choices from among the potential and possible indications in the text-to-be-translated.

T2= The dramaturgical analysis and phase of the translation process, e.g. a coherent reading of the plot and the spatio-temporal indications found in the text and the stage directions, either by linguistic translation or by representing them through extralinguistic elements. The most important aspect of that step of the translation process "is the process of concretization (fictionalization and ideologization) that the dramaturge effects on the text" (Pavis 28).

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[26] Jiří Levý, *Die literarische Übersetzung* (Frankfurt: Athenäum,1969) 35; quoted from Pavis 27 and 43.

T3= testing the text on stage; that is concretization of T1 and T2 by stage enunciation. This stage of *mise en scène*--confrontation of virtual [To] or actual [T1] situations of enunciation--proposes a performance text with all possible relationships between textual and theatrical signs (Pavis 29).

T4= the stage concretization of T3 or *the recipient concretization/the recipient enunciation* during which the ST finally reaches the spectator in the TC (Pavis 29; author's emphasis).

What is directly related to T4, or the *recipient concretization*, are the conditions of theatre translation reception, the third of the four problems particular to translation for the stage. Pavis asserts that any reception of a theatre translation is conditioned merely by the hermeneutic competence of the future audience, and the future audience's competence in the rhythmic, psychological or aural spheres. The former stresses the importance of a target-oriented translation which can be understood by the (target) theatre audience--thus fulfilling their expectations--and make clear most of the translator's choices. The latter emphasizes the importance not of the speakability of the text but rather of the "adequation of speech and gesture," which Pavis calls "*the language-body*" (Pavis 30; author's emphasis).

Nonetheless, in examining the conditions of reception of theatre translation, Pavis brings up the issue of mise en scène in such a way that the stage takes over from the liguistic text. In the most controversial section of the same article "*Translation and its* mise en scène,"[27] Pavis develops the idea of "*taking over the situation of enunciation*" (Pavis 30; author's emphasis). He says that an entire deictic system is the link between the translation already inserted in a concrete *mise en scène* [T3] and the theatrical situation of enunciation [T4]. Once T3 and T4 are linked, then the dramatic text is comprehensible only in the context of its enunciation. But this context is accomplished by the use of deictics that are fully realized only in the *mise en scène*. To clarify how this theatrical economy functions, Pavis gives the following example, "one might for example translate: "I want you to put the hat on the table" by "Put it there" accompanied by a look or gesture, thus reducing the sentence to its deictic elements" (Pavis 31). Hence, for Pavis, it is the economy of the dramatic text and its translation for the stage that allows the actor to supplement the text with extralingual (i.e. intonation, pitch etc.) and paralingual (i.e. gestures, mimics, kinesics etc.) means which ensure the exchange between word and body or, what he calls, *language-body*.

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[27] Pavis's emphasis. At the beginning of her article "Translating for the Theatre: The Case Against Performability" [*TTR* IV.1 (1991) 99-111], Bassnett attacks Pavis' position that the real translation takes place in the mise en scène. For a discussion of her thesis see section 2.3.2. of this chapter.

At this point, it would be interesting to compare the way Bassnett and Pavis use the *deictic system* (*deixis*). As noted earlier, in her "Ways through the Labyrinth: Strategies and Methods for Translating Theatre Texts,"[28] Bassnett calls for an inquiry into the deictic units in the text and an analysis of their function in both SL and TL texts that would be the best solution to compare the ST and the target text (TT). Nevertheless, she perceives the deictic units more as linguistic structures of the text itself than as any gestural patterning. On the contrary, Pavis views the entire deictic system primarily as an encoded gestural patterning in the written text, a position that was held by Susan Bassnett herself in the early steps of her career as a theoretician of theatre translation.[29]

In the rest of "Problems of Translation for the Stage: Intercultural and Post-Modern Theatre," Pavis tries to show how his hypothesis of the series of concretizations [To, T, T1, T2, T3 and T4] is related to an exchange between the spoken text and the speaking body, as well as to the hermeneutic act of intercultural exchange. The most interesting part of the rest of the article may be the section "Intercultural Translation,"[30] in which Pavis first gives a semiotic definition of culture. Then he proceeds to present two contemporary opposing perspectives on the translation of a culture, and, finally, he introduces his own view. Presenting the two conflicting perspectives, he states that the first one occurs when one tries too hard to maintain the SC in the translation in order to accentuate the difference between the SC and the TC. The result of this effort is the creation of an incomprehensible and unreadable text which is not acceptable by the TC. On the other hand, the second perspective, says Pavis, is when one tries to smooth out differences to the point at which no one can comprehend the origin of the translated text. Unsatisfied with these views, he offers his own solution: a middle road consisting "of producing a translation that would be a "conductor" between the two cultures and which would cope with proximity as well as distance" (Pavis 38).

Finally, though he recognizes the diversity of ethnic and national origins, Pavis argues a *gestural universality* and a *universality of culture*. To reinforce his point of view, he uses as an example the *Mahabharata* and explains how Carrière and Brook--the translator and the stage director respectively--treated the mythic aspect of this Sanskrit text. He says that Carrière and Brook were able to translate the myth only by the theatrical discourse during which the actor's body is shown in action and speech or, in Brook's words, the language of stage (Pavis 40). In this case, Pavis assures that gesture is not limited to a social function (a social *gestus*) but rather "a universal encounter among actors of different cultures" (Pavis 40). In this phenomenon of intergestural and intercultural translation, Pavis sees culture intervening at every level of social life, "in all the nooks and crannies of the text"[31] and arrives at the following mythic conception of culture and translation:

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[28] Bassnett, "Ways through the Labyrinth" 87-102.

[29] She held that position in her articles "Translating Spatial Poetry: An Examination of Theatre Texts in Performance," *Literature and Translation*, eds. J.S. Holmes et al. (Leuven: ACCO, 1978) 161-76 and "The Translator in the Theatre," *Theatre Quaterly* X. 40 (1981) 37-48, and in her book *Translation Studies* (London & New York: Methuen, 1980)120-32.

[30] Pavis 37-39.

> *Culture* thus becomes this vague notion whose identity, determination, and precise place within infra- and superstructure we no longer know. *Translation* is this undiscoverable mythic text attempting to take account of the source text--all the while with the awareness that such a text exists only with reference to a source-text-to-be translated. Added to this disturbing circularity is the fact that *theatre translation* is never where one expects it to be: not in words, but in gesture, not in the letter, but in the spirit of a culture, ineffable but omnipresent. (Pavis 42; emphasis added)

2.3.2. Bassnett's most recent theories regarding theatre translation

Unlike Pavis, Bassnett holds the opposite thesis as far as theatre translation and culture are concerned. In her most recent articles "Translating for the Theatre--Textual Complexities" and "Translating for the Theatre: The Case Against Performability,"[32] Bassnett refutes any encoded spatial or gestural dimension of the language of a theatre text, and claims that any such notion is problematic for the interlingual translator because it makes his/her task "superhuman" (Bassnett, "The Case Against Performability" 100). Her main argument against any notion of the gestic text is that the theatre translator is expected to translate a SL text, which is incomplete and which *a priori* once contained a concealed gestic text, into a TL text, which should also contain a concealed gestural sub-text. To emphasize her position, she states that if this concept is taken seriously, then the assumption is that during the translation process it is the translator's responsibility to decode the gestic text while s/he sits at a desk and imagines the performance dimension; and, in her opinion, this situation does not make any sense at all! (Bassnett, "The Case Against Performability" 100)[33]

It is in Bassnett's "The Case Against Performability," however, that a theoretical polarization between Bassnett's and Pavis's positions can be seen more clearly. In this article, Bassnett discusses Pavis's article "Problems of Translation for the Stage:

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[31] Pavis 42.

[32] As mentioned earlier, these articles will be referred to as Bassnett, "Textual Complexities" and Bassnett, "The Case Against Performability" respectively.

[33] No matter how incredible Bassnett finds this situation, there is enough evidence that there have been translators who did exactly that: to sit at a desk and imagine specific actors to perform their translation in a very specific theatre. In section 3.3., Chapter III of this dissertation we shall try to show how W.B. Yeats did exactly that while he was working on his version of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus.

Intercultural and Post-Modern Theatre"[34] and his view that real translation takes place on the level of the *mise en scène* as a whole. Although she agrees with his statement that translation theory has followed the general trend of theatre semiotics to reorient its objectives, Bassnett charges at Pavis on the grounds that he favours *mise en scène* (performability) against the written text in his hierarchical system, and that he perceives the written theatre text as an incomplete entity. Moreover, she concludes that "his [Pavis's] interlingual translator is still left with the task of transforming unrealized text A into unrealized text B and the assumption here is that the task in hand is somehow of a lower status than that of a person who effects the transposition of written text into performance" (Bassnett, "The Case Against Performability" 101).[35]

Then Bassnett raises three arguments to refute any notion of performability. Her first argument is that performability has been used by English translators, directors and impresarios, first, to excuse the practice of handing over a supposedly literal translation to a monolingual playwright; second, to justify substantial variations in the TL text, including cuts and additions;[36] third, to describe the "supposedly" existing gestural text within the written; and, last but not least, to describe what may be called a translator's *ad hoc* decision of what constitutes a speakable text for performers.

Her second argument against performability comes from a different angle: its association with the "old-fashioned notion of universality" (Bassnett, "The Case Against Performability" 107). As an advocate of what is loosely coined theatre anthropology,[37] Bassnett disagrees in principle with the assumption lurking in the notion of universality or, put differently, the perception of the multi-layered structure of the play as the constant (invariable/universal) elements which go across cultural boundaries. Instead, she upholds the poin of view that the starting point of an investigation must be the inconstant (variables/the particulars). According to that school of thought, Bassnett states that "the written text ceases to appear as the quintessential yet incomplete component of theatre, and may be perceived rather as an entity in its own right that has a particular function at a given point in the development of culturally individualistic theatres" (Bassnett, "The Case Against Performability" 110). To validate her argument, Bassnett summarizes Susan Melrose's two arguments against any notion of universality in the theatre text. The latter's first argument against the idea of a universal gestus is that gestus can only be culture-bound. Then, she attacks what she calls "the neo-Platonic cringe" of certain theatre people who yearn after ""oneness" and its hypothetical access into "truth" and "sincerity" or "deep meaning" or "inscribed subtext"."[38] In this way, Melrose discredits the assumption that the playtext contains a series of signs that may transcend cultural boundaries. Agreeing wholeheartedly with Melrose's arguments, Bassnett concludes that performability is "a term without credibility"[39] or "seen as nothing more than a liberal humanist illusion" (Bassnett, "The Case Against Performability" 110).

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[34] Pavis's article and views on theatre translation have been discussed in section 2.3.1. of this chapter in detail.

[35] Our interpretation of Pavis's article has been different from that of Bassnett's and presented in section 2.3.1. of this chapter. We shall try to explain why there is such a polarization between the positions of these two scholars in the Concluding Remarks of this chapter.

[36] She takes the same position in her article "Textual Complexities" when she states, ""[p]erformability" ... serves as a way of enabling the translator to take greater liberties with the source text than many might deem acceptable" (Bassnett, "Textual Complexities" 77).

[37] The term "theatre anthropology" is interchangeable with the notion of either "intercultural performance" or "theatrical interculturalism" in Erika Fischer-Lichte et al., eds., *The Dramatic Touch of Difference: Theatre, Own and Foreign* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1990) 5-6, 11-19 and 277-87. For a discussion of some basic principles and activities of the ISTA (International Association of Theatre Anthropology), see Bassnett "Textual Complexities" 81, Bassnett "The Case Against Performability" 109-110, and Erika Fischer-Lichte et al., eds., *The Dramatic Touch of Difference. Theatre, Own and Foreign* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1990) 34-36.

In her third and last argument against performability, Bassnett upholds that the very core of this notion derives from the naturalist theatre and the effort of the interlingual translator to escape from the domineering presence of both the playwright and the performance text. In her opinion, it was the naturalist drama that imposed the idea of the scripted text, or the performance text, that both actors and directors have to study carefully and reproduce with some fidelity. It was also in the naturalist theatre that the role of the playwright increased tremendously[40] with, as a direct result, the establishment of the idea of fidelity and the imposition on theatre texts and all participants in a performance. According to Bassnett, the implications of the increasing power of the playwright for the interlingual translator were significant, too; if the performers were bound in a master-servant relationship to the written text, "so also should translators be" (Bassnett, "The Case Against Performability" 105). Finally, she concludes that the notion of performability was invented by the translators in order to escape from that servile relationship, and to exercise greater liberties with the written text than the naturalist conventions allowed. In the last but most condensed paragraph of her article,"The Case Against Performability," Bassnett, having refuted any idea of both undertext and performability, goes a step further by inviting scholars to develop only two main branches of investigation: a historiography of theatre translation and a further investigation into the linguistic structure of existing theatre texts (Bassnett, "The Case Against Performability" 111).

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[38] Quoted from Bassnett "The Case Against Performability" 110. To the best of our knowldege, Melrose's paper, "Im-possible Enactments From One Body to Another," presented at the conference *Beyond Translation, Culture, History, Philosophy* at the University of Warwick in July 1988, has not yet been published. Therefore, for Melrose's argumentation against an idea of a universal gestus, we are heavily indebted to the above article.

[39] Bassnett, "Textual Complexities" 77.

[40] She sees the increase of the playwright's role being expressed both in the detailed stage directions and in the effort of some naturalist writers like Pirandello to control the physical appearance of their characters.

Concluding Remarks

To explain the current theoretical polarization between *performability* [*mise en scène*] and *readability* [*written text*], we should consider that Patrice Pavis and Susan Bassnett belong to two different "schools" whose focus of investigation differs significantly. On the one hand, having started as a theatre semiotician, Patrice Pavis has only recently dealt with issues related to theatre translation. He has directed all his efforts towards, and has focused on, an understanding of the *process* of translating, staging and receiving a theatre text. He also believes in the *universals* of gestures (*a gestural universality*) as well as in *a universalization of culture* or, as he puts it, in "a universalization of a notion of culture ... which suggests a return to the religious and to the mystical, and to ritual and ceremony in the theatre" (Pavis 42).

On the other hand, and unlike Pavis, Bassnett started within the field of translation studies and soon became a prominent representative of the "Manipulation School." The main focus of this School is on the description of any translational phenomena that have occurred in the *final product* (the actual translation), and, consequently, on the ideological shifts in the TC. Recently, Bassnett has also adopted the positions of theatre anthropology, which supports the idea that each culture is unique and that, therefore, there are different performance conventions in different cultures. Whereas Pavis believes that cultural differences can be overcome by the transcendental presence of *universals*, Bassnett advocates that the cultural differences are accentuated by the presence of *particulars*. Instead of the universality of gestures and cultures, she firmly believes in the particularity of each culture and, therefore, in the particularity of gestures within cultures.

To see whether this theoretical polarization is of any value, we shall try to examine how far such postulates as readability and perfomability can be applied and compared to the historical functioning of actual translations and performances. To accomplish this task, we shall take as a test case Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*, for it is one of the most discussed, translated and performed classical Greek tragedies in English. Then we shall explore, first, its position in the ancient Greek dramaturgy and theatre by discussing its most important dramatic and theatrical aspects; and, second, its perception and reception by the English-speaking world through imitations, translations, performances and other means of communication from Restoration England onwards. Finally, after we have organized and described a great number of English translations and performances of this tragedy and taken into consideration the different parameters involved in their making, we shall venture to demonstrate the limitations of Bassnett's and Pavis's views on theatre translation and propose a communication model for theatre translation.

CHAPTER II

GREEK TRAGEDY AND SOPHOCLES' *OEDIPUS THE KING*

1. Greek tragedy

To understand the significance of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* for the classical Greek theatre and drama, this chapter first attempts to provide an outline of the socio-cultural and political milieu out of which Greek tragedy developed, and of the history, mechanics and structure of Greek theatre and drama. Second, it makes an effort to discuss some dramatic and theatrical aspects of this Sophoclean tragedy against the background for which it was written.

1.1. Socio-Cultural and Political Milieu

1.1.1. The origins of tragedy

As in all oral societies, written documents relating to the origins of theatre and drama in Greece are scarce. Although the Greeks learned how to write around the eighth century B.C.E., written records concerning the evolution of the theatre continued to be rare until the Athenian government, under the tyrant Peisistratos, instituted and supported financially the first contest for the best tragedy presented at the City or Great Dionysia in 534 B.C.E.

Although tradition holds that Thespis was the winner of the first contest for the best tragedy in 534 B.C.E. and credits him with the invention of drama, some ancient accounts place him as late as sixteenth in the line of tragic poets.[41] This disparity in ancient scholarship may be due to the ambiguity surrounding the original meaning of *tragedy* (*τραγῳδία: tragoidia*; lit. goat song), a very controversial term that is now thought to date from the time when the chorus sang and danced either for a goat as prize or around a sacrificial goat. Unfortunately, none of the theories about how the term tragedy originated provides important indications as to how Greek tragedy evolved.

Apart from these terminological problems, the earliest account of how Greek drama originated is Aristotle's *Poetics* (*Περί Ποιητικῆς: Peri Poietikes*). In this short treatise, Aristotle holds that tragedy developed out of improvisations by the leaders of dithyrambs and was influenced by other forms of poetry:

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[41] Whereas Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge collected seventeen early references to Thespis as the father of Greek tragedy in his *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, 2nd ed. rev. by T.B.L. Webster (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1962) 69-72, it is the *Suda Lexicon* (or *Suidas*) which places Thespis as sixteenth in the line of Greek dramatists; see under "Thespis" in the *Suda Lexicon* (or *Suidas*). This lexicon is a late classical encyclopaedia that drew upon previous source material that has not survived.

> Γενομένη δ' οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικὴ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν φαλλικά, ἅ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα, ... ἔτι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος ἐκ μικρῶν μύθων καὶ λέξεως γελοίας, διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν, ὀψὲ ἀπεσεμνύνθη, τό τε μέτρον ἐκ τετραμέτρου ἰαμβεῖον ἐγένετο.
>
> It [tragedy] began in improvisations--as did also comedy. On the one hand, the former originated with those who led the dithyramb; on the other hand, the latter with those who led the phallic processions, which still survive as institutions in many of the cities ... Its length was also developed from short stories and ludicrous diction--it is [in fact] an altered form of the satyric. It was only later that it [tragedy] assumed a tone of dignity; furthermore, its metre changed from [trochaic] tetrameter into iambic [trimeter]. (*Poetics* 1449a 9-11 and 19-21)[42]

Consequently, it may be helpful to look briefly at the dithyramb, a hymn sung and danced in honour of Dionysus. Originally the dithyrambic form may have consisted of an improvised story sung by the *koryphaios*[43] and a traditional song sung by the *chorus*.[44] It was later on that the dithyramb was transformed into a literary composition by Arion (ca. 625-585 B.C.E.), who was the first to write dithyrambs on well-defined, heroic subjects and to give them titles.[45] Arion is sometimes associated with the beginnings of tragedy because his performers were called *tragoidoi* (*τραγῳδοί*) and their songs *tragikon drama* (*τραγικόν δρᾶμα*). Another element that reinforces this belief is that Arion lived at Corinth, a major centre of the Dorian Greeks, who later claimed to have invented tragedy. Although this claim is unjustified, insofar as the dramatic form of tragedy is concerned, the Dorians did develop certain elements in the dithyramb, such as lyric poetry, choral singing and dancing, and mythological subjects, which later became a vital part of Attic tragedy.

Exactly how dithyramb might have evolved into tragedy or over how long a period is not certain, but the final step is attributed to Thespis. His innovation most likely involved the addition of a prologue and lines spoken by an actor impersonating characters, to what previously had been a narrative work sung and danced by the chorus and its leader. This change did not, however, alter or enlarge the role of the chorus leader, for he continued his original function after the introduction of the first actor (*ὑποκριτής: hypokrites*; lit. an answerer). Almost nothing is known of Thespis apart from Herodotus' brief reference to him and Horace's comments on him.Writing some 500 years later, Horace states that Thespis travelled about on a cart with players.[46] If that is true, then Thespis must have performed in several Greek towns other than Athens.

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[42] See Aristotle, *Περί Ποιητικῆς* (*Peri Poietikes*) or *Poetics*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Berlin: Academica Regia Borussica/Apud Georgium Reimerum, 1831); henceforth it will be referred to as Aristotle, *Poetics*. Any translation of Greek or Latin text in this chapter is mine, unless otherwise indicated.

[43] *Κορυφαῖος: koryphaios* or the chorus leader, who used the Attic dialect when he conversed with the principal characters.

[44] *Χορός: chorus*, a group of people who both sang and danced. The dialect that the chorus used in the choral songs (*stasima*) was usually Doric.

[45] The historian Herodotus preserves a few noteworthy pieces of evidence for the early stages of dramatic poetry. In one of these, he reports that under the tyrant Periandes of Corinth Arion, the poet and the best lyre-player, was "the first man, as far as we know, to compose and name the dithyramb, which he afterwards taught at Corinth"; or as the Greek text reads: "καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ"; see *῾Ηροδότου ῾Ιστορίαι* (*Herodotou Historiai, History*), vol. 1 (London: William Heinemann & Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP 1960) 26 or I. 23. Hereafter it will be cited as Herodotus, *History*.

However, the Aristotelian view that Greek tragedy developed out of dithyramb is not the only theory of the origin of Greek drama. Different and numerous theories, too complex to analyze here, have appeared since the second half of the nineteenth century. For example, one maintains that drama evolved from rites that had gradually emerged from primitive cyclic rituals or from rituals at the tombs of dead heroes.[47] In a quite different vein, Gerald Else and J. Michael Walton advanced the theory that drama was a deliberate rather than a gradual creation.[48] In their opinion, for some time prior to 534 B.C.E., religious festivals had featured public readers (*ῥαψῳδοί: rhapsodes*) in recitations of passages from Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. They believe that these readings had become increasingly dramatic, and that when the City Dionysia was reorganized in 534 B.C.E., the crucial step of joining dramatized narrative and chorus was taken. Else and Walton both more or less reverse the dithyrambic theory, for they believe that the individual performer (or *ῥαψῳδός: rhapsode*) linked his work to a chorus rather than emerged from it.

But all of the theories remain conjectural, for direct evidence to substantiate any of them is missing. Whatever its origin, the major step toward drama had been taken by 534 B.C.E., when it was accorded official recognition and financial support in Athens. At this time an association of Attic tragedy with Dionysus was also established, one which was to continue, for thereafter all state-sponsored dramatic festivals in Athens were given in honour of that god.

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[46] "Ignotum tragicae genus invenisse Camenae/dicitur et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,/quae canerent agerentque peruncti faecibus ora"; or "It is said that Thespis discovered the tragic Muse, a genre unknown before, and carried his poems about on wagons, to be sung and acted by players with faces smeared with wine lees"; see Horace, *Epistles Book II and Epistle to the Pisones* ("*Ars Poetica*"), eds. E.J. Kenney and P.E. Easterling (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 647; lines 275-277; henceforth it will be referred to as Horace, *Ars Poetica*.

[47] William Ridgway, *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1915) 60-61. See also Walter Burkert, "Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 7.2 (1966) 87-121; in general see R.P. Winnington-Ingram, "Tragedy: (1) The Origins of Tragedy," *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature. Vol. I: Greek Literature*, eds. P.E. Easterling and B.M.W. Knox (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985) 258-63.

[48] Gerald F. Else, *The Origin and Early Form of Greek Tragedy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1965) 647-70; and J. Michael Walton, *Greek Theatre Practice* (Westport, Conn. & London: Greenwood P, 1980) 45-56.

1.1.2. The dramatic festivals

The worship of Dionysus probably originated in the Near East and may have been imported into Greece as early as the thirteenth century B.C.E.[49] At first, the cult met considerable resistance due to its ecstatic nature, which often involved intoxication, sexual orgy[50] and the rending and devouring of sacrificial victims, which were frequently human. In spite of all resistance, however, worship of Dionysus was gradually accepted throughout Greece, but only when the orgiastic aspects of the rites had abated; by the sixth century B.C.E. they had disappeared.

According to the myth, Dionysus was the son of Zeus and Semele. He was first reared by satyrs, then he was killed and dismembered, and, finally resurrected. As a god, he was associated with fertility, wine and revelry, while the events of his life are linked with the cycle of the seasons and the recurring pattern of birth, maturity, death and rebirth.

As a general rule, all Greek city-states honoured each of their gods through one or more annual festivals. In Attica, where Athens was the principal town, four festivals were held each year in honour of Dionysus: (1) the Anthesteria; (2) the Lenaia; (3) the Rural or Lesser Dionysia; and (4) the City or Great Dionysia, in which drama was first presented. It is significant in the present context to realize that dramas were never part of the festivals held in honour of other gods.

1. The Anthesteria are not important for Greek tragedy at all, since plays were never produced in this festival.

2. The Lenaia were celebrated near the end of January under the supervision of the *basileus* (*βασιλεύς*)[51] and held only in the city. As the seas were unsafe in January, the Lenaia were primarily a local festival. As a result, more freedom of expression was permitted, and the Lenaia came to be associated primarily with comedy, in which Athenian officials and current political affairs were often severely ridiculed.

Dramatic activities were not officially recognized at the Lenaia until 442 B.C.E. when the plays were performed in the Theatre of Dionysus. Where and when these festivals were first held is still uncertain. Today, many scholars assume that originally there was a performance area in the *Agora* (*'Αγορά*: lit. market place), and that the Lenaia plays were at first performed there. Some historians have suggested that the plays continued to be presented in the *Agora* until they were given official sanction in 442 B.C.E., and at that time they were transferred to the Theatre of Dionysus.

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[49] See Oscar G. Brockett, *History of the Theatre*, 5th ed. (Boston, London, Sydney & Toronto: Allyn & Bacon, 1977) 18.

[50] A different opinion has been expressed by Jan Bremmer in his article "Greek Maenadism Reconsidered," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 55 (1984) 267-86.

[51] The *basileus* was one of the nine chief magistrates (*Ἄρχοντες: Archontes*) at Athens. These *archontes* were the following: (1) the first was called emphatically *the Archon* or *Archon eponymous* (*ὁ Ἄρχων* or *Ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος*), the principal civil magistrate of Athens; (2) the *Basileus* (*ὁ Βασιλεύς*), the principal religious official at Athens; (3) the *Polemarchos* (*ὁ Πολέμαρχος*), the principal official who commanded in battle; and (4) the remaining six junior magistrates were called *Thesmothetai* (*οἱ Θεσμοθέται*) who were lawgivers. The six *thesmothetai* became members of the Areopagus (the Greek Supreme Court) after their year expired.

At first, the contest at the Lenaia was only for comic playwrights and actors, but in 432 B.C.E. other competitions were also added for tragic poets and actors. As at the City or Great Dionysia, five comic writers competed each year, but only two dramatic writers participated submitting only two plays each. Never were satyr plays and dithyrambs presented at these festivals.

3. The Rural or Lesser Dionysia were celebrated in December, although not necessarily in all *demes* (*δήμοι*: tribes, subdivisions, or suburbs)[52] on the same day. It was under the supervision of the *demarchos* (*δήμαρχος*: principal magistrate, mayor) of each *demos* (*δῆμος*). The principal feature of the festival was a procession in which a phallus was carried aloft on a pole, apparently with the purpose of reviving fertility at a time when the sun was at its weakest. It is still uncertain when dramatic performances became part of this festival; what is certain, however, is that plays were performed in a number of *demes*, such as Eleusis, Piraeus, Salamis, and Icaria, before the end of the fifth century B.C.E. Plato wrote that in his time the Rural or Lesser Dionysia were held on different days in different demes so that people might travel from one to the other to see plays presented by troupes of travelling actors. It should also be taken into consideration that many of the *demes* had already built their own permanent theatres.

Whereas most of the information about the Lesser Dionysia dates from the fourth century B.C.E.--when the actors had been reviving works already produced elsewhere--there is no source for plays presented in the fifth century B.C.E. Nowdays, it is generally assumed that the Rural Dionysia may have served either as a tryout theatre, or as an outlet for plays not accepted for the City Dionysia or Lenaia, or as a place where works already seen in the City Dionysia were revived. While these Dionysia probably had little effect on the development of Greek tragedy, the activities of this festival suggest how intense the interest in drama and theatre was and show that performances of tragedy and comedy were not confined to the city of Athens.

4. The City or Great Dionysia were presumably either introduced or reorganized from an older festival by the tyrant Peisistratos, whose motives were primarily political. By instituting the magnificent five-day festival, he made Athens the religious centre of Attica

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[52] *Demes* (*δήμοι*) is the plural nominative of the word *demos* (*δῆμος*). The first component of the word *democracy* (*δημοκρατία: demokratia*) derives from *demos*, and its literaly meaning is "a *demos* in power."

and diminished the prestige of the local cults, which were under the control of his rival nobles.[53] Like Kleisthenes of Sicyon,[54] Peisistratos might have consecrated the festival to the god Dionysus to win popular support. It was above all the rural population (ten tribes: *δῆμοι* or *demes*) that stood behind him when he first came to power in 561 B.C.E., for the farmers had particularly close ties to Dionysus as a god of fertility and of wine. Moreover, the splendour of the City Dionysia, in which the urban population took part, affirmed in this way the tyrant Peisistratos' pre-eminence in the presence of the other nobles.

The politicization of the City Dionysia in the late sixth century B.C.E. helps to explain why this festival was so important to the fifth-century Athenian democracy. Commemorating the coming of Dionysus to Athens, the festival was held each year at the end of March and extended over several days. A civil as well as a religious festival, it became the political instrument par excellence of the Athenian democracy after the Persian Wars. It was open to the whole Greek world and served to exalt the Athenians in the presence of their dependent allies. The ceremonies incorporated into the festival, on the one hand, promoted a sense of solidarity among the Athenians themselves, and, on the other hand, advertised the power of the Athenian empire among its allies. The allies, who were compelled to pay annual tribute, sat in the Theatre of Dionysus and watched as outstanding Athenians received commendations and the surplus tribute was displayed.

But it was mainly the dramatic contest (*ἀγών: agon*), which was institutionalized as early as 534 B.C.E., that made the Great Dionysia such a great attraction to the eyes of the rest of the Greek world. The performance of tragedies, and later of dithyrambs (from ca. 509 B.C.E.) and comedies (from 486 B.C.E.), was agonistic, that is, a form of competition among poets. The Great Dionysia and the tragic *agon* (*ἀγών*) were both organized by the state (*πόλις: polis*), and were under the general supervision of the *Archon* or *Archon eponymous* (*Ἄρχων* or *Ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος*), the principal civil magistrate of Athens.

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[53] It was one of the steps that Peisistratos followed to democratize the existing oligarchical system in Attica and strip the Athenian nobles of their political power.

[54] In the second and very important passage regarding the early stages of tragedy, Herodotus reports that the Sicyonians used to worship not the god Dionysus but Adrastus, hero of the city, commemorating his sufferings with "tragic choruses" (τραγικοῖσι χοροῖς). Later the tyrant Cleisthenes, for political reasons, stripped the local hero of his honours, and transferred the choral songs to Dionysus and the sacrifice to Melanippides, a hero whom he himself had introduced from Thebes. Herodotus' note thus calls attention to another factor in the development of tragedy: politics. Having sought to secure his power on a religious base, a tyrant transformed an existing hero cult to include performances by tragic choruses in honour of the god Dionysus. See Herodotus, *History* V. 647.

1.1.3. The City or Great Dionysia: Play selection and financing[55]

If he wished to have his plays produced at a festival, a playwright had to apply to the *Archon* for a chorus. It is not known how this official chose the plays to be presented, but it has been suggested that each dramatist recited parts of his work before a committee. The *Achon* selected three poets from those who had submitted three tragedies and one satyr play. For each of these three dramatic productions, and for each dithyrambic chorus the *Archon* appointed a *choregos* (*χορηγός*), or wealthy citizen, whose responsibility was to underwrite the training and costuming of the chorus and pay the musicians. Furthermore, a *choregos* may have needed to supply props and supernumerary actors (extras) and to meet other demands, such as a second chorus when required, that were not provided by the state. This service (*χορηγία: choregia*) was one of the so called *liturgies* (*λειτουργίαι*), a form of indirect taxation and part of the civic and religious responsibilities of wealthy Athenian citizens. Apart from the *choregoi*'s contribution to the City Dionysia,[56] the state seems to have been responsible for theatre building, for prizes awarded to playwrights, *choregoi* and actors, and for payments to actors and dramatists.

Once a dramatist was granted a *choregos*, he would then spend the rest of the year rehearsing his play with the actors and the chorus. At the early stages in the development of Greek tragedy, the playwright was the primary source in the presentation of his tetralogy (of his trilogy and satyr play). He acted in his plays, trained the chorus, composed the music, choreographed the dances, and supervised every aspect of the production. The tragic poet's key role is better conveyed by the term applied to him: *didaskalos* (*διδάσκαλος*: teacher, instructor), because he was considered to be the teacher of both the performers (during the process of production) and the audience (through the production itself). A few days before the beginning of the festival, each dramatist appeared with his actors, chorus and *choregos* at a ceremonial parade called the *proagon* (*προαγών*) and announced the subject of his plays, wearing garlands but without masks or costumes. After the re-enactment of Dionysus' coming to Athens, the procession with the sacrificial animals for the god, the dithyrambic contests and the performances of the tetralogies began. Each of three playwrights had to present his tetralogy, which lasted a whole day. Until 449 B.C.E., prizes were awarded only to playwrights for their plays; but after that time prizes were also established for actors.

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[55] See Oscar G. Brockett, *History of the Theatre*, 5th ed. (Boston, London, Sydney & Toronto: Allyn & Bacon, 1977) and J. Michael Walton, *Greek Theatre Practice* (Westport, Conn. & London: Greenwood P, 1980).

[56] *Choregoi* or *χορηγοί* is the plural nominative of the noun *choregos* (*χορηγός*).

1.2. Greek Theatre and Drama: Physical Form, Theatrical and Dramatic Conventions

1.2.1. Introduction

It is unfortunate that so little is known about the theatres in fifth-century Greece, the period of the theatre's first great bloom and of the creation of a vital part of world theatre. Although the extant texts comprise around forty-four plays, almost nothing is known about the technical resources with which these plays were produced. If there is some information, it has been interpreted so differently that sometimes it has led scholarship to a deadlock. No area of classical scholarship and theatre practice has produced so many heated debates as the reconstruction of fifth-century Greek theatre. For example, questions like: "was the Greek theatre originally square or round?", "did it have a raised stage (*λογεῖον: logeion*) or not?" became substantial areas of controversy to which archaeologists, textual critics, theatre historians and theatre practitioners have tried to give answers.

The main reason for these controversies is that there is no testimony of any kind from that period at all. With the exception of Aristotle's *Poetics*--which, however, refers rarely to technical aspects of the fifth-century theatre[57]--there is no other written evidence about the Greek theatre from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. There are a few systematic studies, but they belong to a much later period. It is not surprising that in a small and orally-oriented society, like Greece, there was no need for any detailed written documentation. Also, in a society in which the Athenian citizens themselves made up the choruses of tragedies, comedies, satyr plays and dithyrambs, they felt no need to record the physical form of the theatre or the theatrical and dramatic conventions with which every citizen, either as a spectator or as a *choreutes* (*χορευτής*), was very familiar. As if that were not enough, the Greek theatre with its limited activity[58] was tradition-bound; innovations that would probably seem trivial to a modern audience were often fiercely resisted; for example, the use of the fourth actor in the productions of Greek tragedies.[59] So it is not surprising that, as far as the physical theatre was concerned, Euripides used the same theatrical resources, although with more special theatrical effects, at the end of the fifth century as Aeschylus had used at the beginning, and did not have to explain in his dramas what was taken for granted by the contemporary audience.

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[57] We are referring to Aristotle's discussion of spectacle (*ὄψις: opsis*), which he categorizes as the least of his six determinant "parts" of tragedy; see *Poetics* 1453b.

[58] It is estimated that the performances of tragedies, comedies and satyr plays in all the festivals (Lenaia, Rural Dionysia and City Dionysia) took only two or three weeks each year.

[59] See the discussion of the "Three-Actor Rule" in section 1.2.3.1. of this chapter and section 1, Chapter VI.

Therefore, our knowledge of fifth-century Greek theatre is mostly conjecture based on archaeological excavations; written accounts of the Hellenistic and Roman theatres by Vitruvius in *De Architectura* (*On Architecture*) and by Pollux in *Onomasticon*; the plays themselves; later commentaries (*σχόλια: scholia*) on the plays by Greek, Alexandrian or Byzantine scholars;[60] and vase paintings which represent either Greek theatres or scenes inspired by productions of Greek tragedies and comedies.

The following sections explore the intimate relationship between physical reality, mechanics and theatrical and dramatic conventions of the Greek theatre and drama.

1.2.2. Physical form: Greek theatre architecture and scenic practices

Of the many theories about the origins of the Greek tragedy, the one held by Aristotle remains the most plausible: that the nucleus of the Greek dramas was the *chorus* (*χορός*). In the same way it is probable that the core of the structure of the Greek theatre was the *orchestra* (*ὀρχήστρα*: lit. a "dancing place") in which the *chorus* performed.[61] But of what shape was that *orchestra*? There are various theories regarding the shape of this site of the Greek theatre. One theory finds its origins in the Cycladic civilization and the rectagular "theatral areas" which have been uncovered in the Minoan palaces of Crete.[62]

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[60] In addition to Aristotle and Pollux, Lycurgus, an orator and stateman in Athens, played an extremely practical but crucial role in the transmission of Greek tragedy. In 330 B.C.E. he established reliable and official editions of the three tragedians against which all actors were compelled to compare their scripts. In this way, the first official effort was made to protect the texts of Greek tragedies from any contamination through alteration and interpolation by actors during the Hellenistic period. Similarly, two Alexandrian scholars became famous for their collection and careful edition of the Greek tragedians: (1) Alexander of Aetolia (first half of the third century B.C.E.); and (2) Aristophanes of Byzantium (ca 257-180 B.C.E.). However, two periods of Byzantine history played the most decisive role in the transmission of ancient Greek literature. First, in the second half of the ninth century, scholars and churchmen in the circle of the patriarch Photius (ca 810-ca 897 C.E.) collected and transcribed in minuscule the tragedies that had survived. But this vigorous intellectual activity came to an abrupt end with the first and second invasion of the Crusaders (1204 C.E. and 1261 C.E. respectively). Second, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, philologists, like Maximus Planudes (ca. 1250-1310C.E.), Thomas Magister (ca. 1270-1325 C.E.), Manuel Moschopulus (ca. 1265-1315 C.E.) and Demetrius Triclinius (ca. 1280-1340 C.E.), approached Greek tragedy from the stance of a textual critic and metrician. The results of their diligent work were reflected in the first printed editions of the sixteenth century and represent the most significant link between antiquity and Renaissance. For a thorough discussion of the Byzantine scholars, see: (1) Robert Aubreton, *Démétrius Triclinius et les recensions médiévales de Sophocle* (Paris: Société d'édition «Les Belles Letres», 1949); (2) Alexander Turyn, "The Byzantine Recensions," *Studies in The Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Sophocles* (Roma: "L' Erma" di Bretschneider, 1970) 13-98; and (3) R.D. Dawe, "Byzantine Scholars and their Manuscripts," *Studies on the Text of Sophocles*, vol. 1, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973) 35-81.

[61] *Orchestra* (*ὀρχήστρα*) derives from the infinitive of the verb *orcheisthai* (*ὀρχεῖσθαι*): dance. The modern sense of *orchestra* is a much later derivation.

[62] The Cycladic civilization preceded that of Greece proper and flourished in the Aegean Sea (Cyclades or Cycladic Islands) during the Bronze Age (3200-1100 B.C.E). The mild climate and good soil on many islands allowed the introduction of vineyards and wheat planting and cattle-breading. Moreover, the wealth of minerals--such as bronze, silver lead, large quantities of marble and obsidia--and the

Excavations in Knossos and Phaistos have uncovered two impressive "theatral areas" with stone seats on two sides of a rectagle approximately 40 to 35 feet in size. These areas may have been used for dances, ceremonies and bull-leaping. Some scholars believe that the earliest theatrical spaces on the Greek mainland were also square or rectagular. Recent excavations of Isthmia (near Corinth) and the rectagular shape of the theatre of Thorikos (in Attica) tend to support this view. Whatever the original form of the *orchestra* may have been, Greek theatres were of circular shape by the fifth century B.C.E., a shape which became the standard that dictated the pattern of the theatre as a whole. Nevertheless, although there are several other theatres in Greece, in the present study we are concerned with the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens, as illustrated in *Figure 1*, for it was here that the extant Greek plays were first performed.

The earliest feature of the Theatre of Dionysus was the *orchestra* (see *Fig. 1*, 3 and *Fig. 2*, 2). Originally it might have been the only essential feature, since the audience sat or stood on the hillside to watch the choral performances which predated tragedy. Sometime in the sixth century a terrace was formed at the foot of the hill and on it a circular orchestra was laid out, in the centre of which an altar or *thymele* (*θυμέλη*) was placed (see *Fig. 1*, 2 or *Fig. 2*, 1). With a few exceptions, the *orchestra* remained unchanged until the Roman period.

The scene-building or *skene* (*σκηνή*)[63] is probably of later origin than the orchestra. Since *skene* means "tent" or "hut," the scene-building may have developed out of some temporary structure intended originally as a dressing room but later incorporated in the action of tragedy by a playwright unknown to us. In seeking to date the *skene* as a scenic structure, most scholars turn to the extant plays, of which Aeschylus' *Oresteia* (458 B.C.E.)[64] is the first play clearly to require a building as background.

The basic design of the *skene* is traditionally pictured as having three doors (*θύραι: thyrai*),[65] but there is some doubt whether these were all present in the fifth-century

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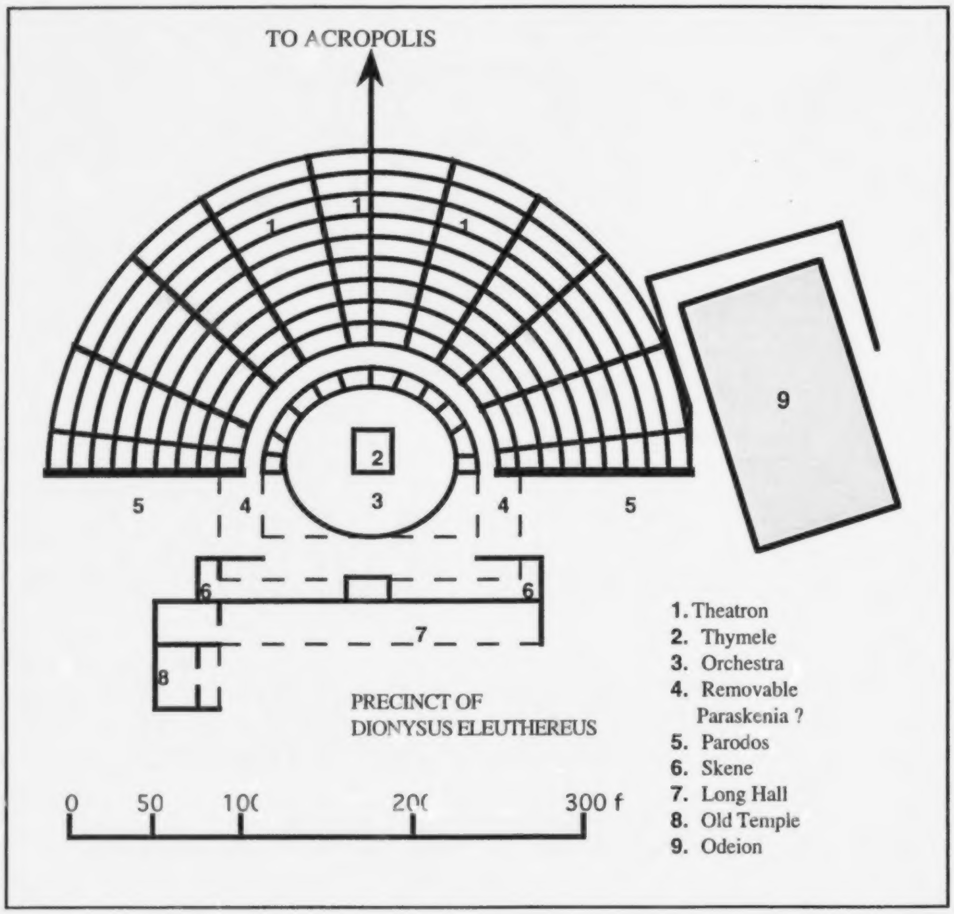
open sea around them encouraged trade and navigation. As a result, communications and diplomatic relations were developed between the Cycladic civilization with its Minoan and Mycenean counterparts. For a discussion of the "theatral areas" see Peter D. Arnott, *The Ancient Greek and Roman Theatre* (New York: Random House, 1971) 9-11.

[63] *Skene* (*σκηνή*) is always the scene-building, though Vitruvius may use *scaena* to mean "stage"; see Vitruvius, "Liber Quintus," *De Architectura* ("Book V," *On Architecture*), ed. and trans. Frank Granger, vol. 1, [The Loeb Classical Library] (London: William Heinemann & New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1931) 288-290 or V.VII; hereafter it will be quoted as Vitruvius, *De Architectura*. Analyses made by W. Dörpfeld and E. Reisch, *Das Griechische Theater* (Athens, Greece: Barth & Von Hirst, 1986) 284-85, and Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1946) 73, show that expressions such as *ἐπί τῆς σκηνῆς* (*epi tes skenes*: lit. "on the skene") could be of the more general meaning of "on stage."

[64] The year appearing in parentheses is the year of the first production of the play.

[65] Sometimes they are also referred to as *πύλαι* (*pylai*), meaning "gates."

theatre. It is now accepted that all the extant plays could be performed with fewer doors and even with only one.[66] Nevertheless, since certainty is impossible, it would be dangerous to carry this hypothesis too far. What we may say with a certain degree of confidence is that the number of doors depends on the absolute requirements of the text; for example Aeschylus' *Oresteia* requires two doors.


TO ACROPOLIS
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PRECINCT OF
DIONYSUS ELEUTHEREUS
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200
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1. Theatron
2. Thymele
3. Orchestra
4. Removable Paraskenia ?
5. Parodos
6. Skene
7. Long Hall
8. Old Temple
9. Odeion

Figure 1. Plan showing the fifth-century theatre of Dionysus at Athens.[67]

The *skene* also had an upper storey for scenes in heaven, as in *Psychostasia*, or on the roof, as in Euripides' *Orestes* (408 B.C.E.), which was called *theologeion*

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[66] A.M. Dale, "An Introduction of Ar. *Vesp.* 136-210 and its Consequences for the Stage of Aristophanes." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* LXXVII. II (1957): 205-11; see especially 206.

[67] Adapted from W. Dörpfeld and E. Reisch, *Das Griechische Theater* (Athens, Greece: Barth & Von Hirst, 1896) Plate I.

(*θϵολογϵῖον*; see *Fig*. 2, 7).[68] Considering its literal meaning: "a place from which the gods speak," this upper storey served its purpose; it was either a roof or a platform on a second level used primarily for the appearance of gods or for the representation of high places. For practical purposes, a *theologeion* required a flat roof, solid enough to support some actors, but not too high, for the actors on it had to be able to communicate with those on the raised stage (*λογϵῖον: logeion* ; see *Fig*. 2, 5) and the *orchestra* (see *Fig*. 2, 2). It is usually assumed that after 458 B.C.E., the first production of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, all plays used the *skene* as a background. It could easily meet the demands of most plays, since the majority are set before a temple, palace, or some other type of building.

Still, there is much controversy about tragedies that demand a radically different background. For example, what sort of background would there have been in a play set before a cave (Sophocles' *Philoctetes*), in a grove of trees (Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*), or in an army camp (Sophocles' *Ajax*)? Various answers to this question have been offered. Some theatre historians have argued that a few stock sets, designed to meet the range of possible locales, were used. Others have argued that a few symbolic properties (such as shields to identify an army camp, or a single tree to suggest a grove) were merely added to the otherwise undisguised scene-building. Still others have suggested that the spoken lines provided the necessary indications of locale and that the facade of the skene served as a conventional background for all plays.

This controversy is closely related to another scholarly debate about *scene painting* or *σκηνογραφία* (*skenographia*). On the one hand, Aristotle credits Sophocles with inventing *scene painting*.[69] On the other hand, Vitruvius states that it originated earlier.[70] In seeking to reconcile these two statements, some historians have placed the beginnings of *painted scenery* (*ϵἰκονογραφία: eikonographia*) somewhen between 468 and 456 B.C.E., that is, during the years when the careers of Aeschylus and Sophocles overlapped. Vitruvius' description of the first scene painting suggests that it was architectural design on a flat surface; this has been interpreted to mean either that an attempt was made to create an illusion of real architectural details, or, conversely, that a previously undecorated surface was now given some schematic but non-illusionistic design. The controversy around Vitruvius' statements is also attached to another issue: that of conventionalization versus illusionism in Greek theatre and drama, an extremely important issue for the better understanding of Greek tragedy, with which we shall deal in section 1.3. of this chapter.

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[68] Pollux talks of *theologeion* and *distegia* (*διστϵγία*: lit. two roofs), which he describes as a small upper storey set above the main scene-building; see Pollux, *'Ονομαστικόν: Pollucis Onomasticon*, ed. Erick Bethe, vol. 1 (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1931) 239 and 240 or IV. 27; henceforth it will be referred to as Pollux, *Onomasticon*.

[69] Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449a 18-19.

[70] See Vitruvius, *De Architectura* V. VII.

Nevertheless, the evidence concerning scenic practices in the fifth-century theatre is inconclusive. Inconclusive also is the evidence about the raised stage (*λογεῖον: logeion*; see *Fig. 2*, 5), which has led to two different positions. On the one hand, there are scholars who argue against any raised stage on the grounds that: (1) the extant plays require the free mingling of actors and the chorus, which a raised stage would have prevented; (2) no extant plays require a stage; (3) the choral performances that preceded the invention of drama did not use a stage and thus would have provided no precedent for one; (4) during the fifth century there was no Greek word for stage, the term *logeion* (*λογεῖον*: lit. "speaking place") dating from a later time after the stage was introduced; and (5) there are no archaeological remains of a stage from this period.[71] On the other hand, Peter Arnott raises the following arguments for the raised stage: (1) all ancient commentators, such as Vitruvius, Pollux and Horace, though they admittedly lived much later, unanimously believed that there was a raised stage in the fifth century; (2) since every other innovation, such as the introduction of the second and third actors and of scene painting, was recorded, such a drastic change as the introduction of the raised stage would scarcely have gone unnoticed; (3) the intermingling of actors and chorus is not often required and a low raised stage could have accommodated these scenes; and (4) a close reading of a number of extant plays indicates that actors are on a higher level than the orchestra. Nonetheless, whether this higher level was a temporary set of portable pieces or a permanent platform is unclear. If a permanent platform were used, it must have lain between the scene-building (*skene*) and the *orchestra*, and could have extended the full width of the *skene* (see *Fig. 2* and the two different locations of 5).[72] Therefore, according to Arnott, the bare bones of the theatre were the three acting-levels: *orchestra*, *raised stage* (*λογεῖον: logeion*) and *theologeion* (*θεολογεῖον*), which were sufficient setting for any play wherever the action was supposed to take place. These three acting-levels can be illustrated as follows:

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[71] See: (1) W. Dörpfeld and E. Reisch, *Das Griechische Theater* (Athens, Greece: Barth & von Hirst); (2) A.E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*, 3rd ed., revised by Rickard-Cambridge (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1907); (3) R.C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and its Drama*, 2nd ed. (Chicago & London: The Chicago P, 1936); and (4) A.W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1946).

[72] For Arnott's argumentation for the existence of the raised stage in the fifth-century Greek theatre, see his "Arena and Platform" and "Arena and Platform (Cont.)," *Scenic Conventions in the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1962) 1-41. See also Arnott, *An Introduction to the Greek Theatre* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1963) and *The Ancient Greek and Roman Theatre* (New York: Random House, 1971).

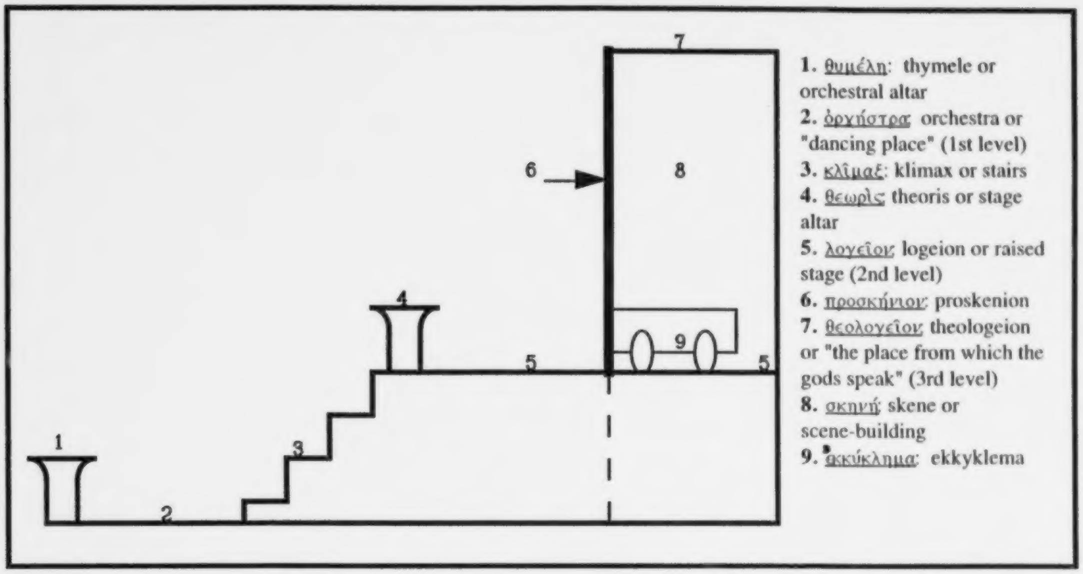
7
6
8
4
5
9
5
1
3
2
1. θυμέλη: thymele or orchestral altar
2. ὀρχήστρα: orchestra or "dancing place" (1st level)
3. κλῖμαξ: klimax or stairs
4. θεωρὶς: theoris or stage altar
5. λογεῖον: logeion or raised stage (2nd level)
6. προσκήνιον: proskenion
7. θεολογεῖον: theologeion or "the place from which the gods speak" (3rd level)
8. σκηνή: skene or scene-building
9. ἐκκύκλημα: ekkyklema

Figure 2. The three acting levels (2, 5 and 7).[73]

One more scenic feature remains to be considered: the *altar*. Since such a particular scenic feature plays an important part in many plays, it is only natural to regard this as a temporary item of scene-setting. Nevertheless, we should distinguish between the *orchestral altar* (*θυμέλη: thymele*; see *Fig. 1*, 2 and *Fig*. 2, 1) and the *stage or property altar* (*θεωρὶς: theoris*; see *Fig*. 2, 4). In contrast, the *orchestral altar* (*θυμέλη: thymele*) was in the centre of the *orchestra* from the earliest times and pre-dramatic dances were performed around it; it was both used as an altar or a sacrifice table.[74] This altar was dedicated to Dionysus in whose honour the festival of the Great Dionysia was held, and to use it as part of the play would have been sacrilegious. Its sacred character is well illustrated in the story of Aeschylus who, having been accused of revealing secrets from the Eleusinian Mysteries in one of his plays, escaped the fury of the Athenian audience only by taking refuge at the altar of Dionysus.

If we consider the religious function of the *orchestral altar*, it becomes evident that when an altar appears as a part of a play, it must be a special *property* or *stage altar* and not the same as that in the *orchesta*. This kind of altar appears so frequently that it is usually assumed to have been a portable structure brought on only when required. However, Pollux does not think so; he describes it as "an altar standing on stage in front of the doors, and a table bearing cakes, which was called *theoris* or *thyoris*."[75] What we can deduce from that statement is that Pollux took this altar as a permanent fixture. Some scholars have argued that a permanent stage altar would be incongruous when the action was supposed to take place in the country. Yet, this argument springs only from our own conception of the stage setting as a realistic picture. Whether we admit that Greek theatre and drama was conventional rather than illusionist, an altar would not be "seen" unless attention was drawn to it.

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[73] This illustration is appropriated from Arnott's *An Introduction to the Greek Theatre* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1963) 38. The Greek terms are taken from Aristotle's *Poetics* and Pollux's *Onomasticon*.

[74] See Pollux, *Onomasticon* IV. 123.

In the fifth-century Greek theatre various mechanical devices were also available for special effects. The most important devices were the *mechane* (*μηχανή*) and the *ekkyklema* (*ἐκκύκλημα*; see *Fig*. 2, 9). The *mechane* was a crane and used to show characters in flight or suspended above the earth. The crane was probably situated so that an actor could be attached to it out of sight of the audience--behind either the scene-building (*skene*) or some part of the upper level (*theologeion*)--and then raised in the air and swung out over the acting area. The crane was most often used for the appearance of gods, but certain human characters in tragedy might also require it.[76] The *ekkyklema* was a platform that would be wheeled out through the central doorway of the scene in order to reveal tableaux such as the bodies of characters killed offstage. The confusion created around the name of this device goes beyond this study, but it is enough to say in the present context that some ancient writers state that it was revolved or turned, while others associate it with the upper storey of the *skene*, that is the *theologeion*, or with the side doors.[77] Finally, furniture was rarely required in tragedy and was restricted to couches for characters too ill to stand.[78]

1.2.3. Theatrical and Dramatic Conventions

1.2.3.1. Actors

Originally the actor and the dramatist were one. The playwright was his own writer, director, composer, choreographer and the leading character or performer. In other words, from the early period up to Aeschylus' time, the dramatist was the *didaskalos* (*διδάσκαλος*: teacher, instructor) of the performers and of his fellow-citizens. It was he who gave performance artistic unity. Separation of the two roles, that of the actor and of the dramatist, did not begin until early in the fifth century, when Aeschylus introduced a second actor to create more complex action in his plays. However, playwrights continued to act in their own plays until the time of Sophocles, who abandoned this practice around 468 B.C.E. and introduced a third actor. It seems that the complete separation of actor from playwright had already become reality when the contest (*ἀγών: agon*) for tragic actors was inaugurated (ca. 449 B.C.E).

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[75] Or as the Greek text reads: "᾿Επί δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ ἀγιεὺς ἔκειτο βωμός ὁ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν, καὶ τράπεζα πέμματα ἔχουσα, ἣ θεωρὶς ὠνομάζετο ἤ θυωρίς" (Pollux, *Onomasticon* IV. 123).

[76] The *mechane* was used more frequently in comedy than in tragedy, and it either parodied tragedy or ridiculed human pretensions.

[77] For an excellent presentation of the confusion surrounding the term *ekkyklema*, see Arnott, *Greek Scenic Conventions in the Fifth Century B.C*. (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1962) 78-88.

[78] On the other hand, in comedy both furniture and other domestic articles were abundant.

Nevertheless, the number of actors available to each dramatist seems to have been fixed at three after Sophocles had introduced the third actor. This is backed by both Aristotle and Horace. In his *Poetics*, Aristotle refers to Sophocles' introduction of a third actor, but does not mention a fourth actor.[79] Likewise, in his *Ars Poetica*, Horace advises his protégé, one of the sons of the Piso family: "... nec quarta loqui persona laboret," meaning "... nor should a fourth actor put himself forward to speak."[80] Although none of these statements is direct evidence from fifth-century Greek theatrical practice, the majority of the extant tragedies shows that parts must have been cast among only three speaking actors, but not without exceptions.[81] The limitations on the number of actors in the performance, of course, did not limit the number of the characters in tragedy or comedy. Each actor could impersonate more than one character by simply changing his mask. That, of course, required the Greek actor to be very fast at changing costume and mask to reappear as a new character. If a fourth character was needed on stage, he was either nonspeaking (mute) or given only a few lines. The presence of mute characters on stage had, however, a practical aspect; the dramatist could use as many nonspeaking characters as the *choregos* was prepared to provide.[82]

The general hypothesis that most of the fifth-century Greek theatrical productions were limited to the use of only three actors to play all the speaking roles is known as the "Three-Actor Rule" or "Dreigespräch."[83] Trying to comprehend why there was a limit of three actors, many classical and theatre scholars have suggested various reasons, such as:

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[79] Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1449a.

[80] Horace, *Ars Poetica* line 192.

[81] Of all Greek tragedies, Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* (406 B.C.E.) and Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* (458 B.C.E) have moments when a fourth actor seems to be required. See J.M. Walton, *Greek Theatre Practice* (Wetport, Conn. & London: Greenwood P, 1980) 139-40. In contrast, comedy was subject to fewer restrictions. One possible explanation for this difference between tragedy and comedy is that the restrictions imposed at the Lenaia may have differed from those at the City Dionysia.

[82] We should not forget that it was the *choregos* who was responsible for covering the expenses of the actors, mute characters and extra choruses, when required by the play.

[83] For a discussion of the significance and the problematic of the "Three-Actor Rule," see the following studies: (1) K. Kelly Rees, *The So-Called Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama* (Chicago: The U of Chicago, 1908); (2) Joseph A. Dane, "Aristophanic Parody: *Thesmophoriazousae* and the Three-Actor Rule," *Theatre Journal* 36.1 (1984) 75-89; (3) John A. Hawkins, "The Greek Tragic Actor: Actor and Prosopa," *Essays in Theatre* 3.1 (1984) 46-59; and (4) Mark Damen, "Actor and Character in Greek Tragedy," *Theatre Journal* 41.3 (1989) 316-40.

(1) economic factors that prompted the state to control the number of actors whom it had to pay when the prizes for actors were introduced; (2) an established tradition, which made any change difficult; and (3) festival rules, for three playwrights were competing for a prize, and it was necessary to ensure fairness in competition, that is all dramatists should have the same technical means at their disposal. Furthermore, there is another purely practical aspect to which, although ignored by classical scholars, theatre scholars have drawn our attention. In a large theatre, like that of Dionysus, the physical conditions of staging and the effect of the performance were two among other factors that dictated the development of Greek tragedy. For example, if two actors were seen on stage, the Greek audience could fairly easily tell which of the two actors was speaking. However, if three actors appeared simultaneously on stage and spoke, at a distance the third speaker would become less clear and most probably get confused. To meet this theatrical difficulty all Greek playwrights inserted balanced speeches in *stichomythia* (*στιχομυθία*), which usually involved only two characters while the third kept silent.[84]

Another aspect upon which the Greeks seem to have placed considerable emphasis was the voice of the actor. In a theatre whose physical structure and practice of masked actors restricted the audience's vision, that audience tended to judge actors above all by the beauty of their vocal tone and their ability to adapt manner of speaking to mood and character. Nevertheless, the actor's delivery was more declamatory than realistic, for he did not attempt to reproduce the attributes of age or sex so much as to project the appropriate mode. Furthermore, the plays demanded primarily three kinds of delivery: dialogue, recitative, and song. On the one hand, the most common metre used for dialogue in Greek tragedy was the iambic trimeter (χ-υ-χ-υ-χ-υχ).[85] On the other hand, passages delivered in recitative were rare; only in Aeschylus and in the later works of Euripides, some spoken passages were delivered in trochaic tetrameter (-υ-χ-υ-χ-υ-χ-υ-), a form of recitative associated with scenes of heightened suspense or great moment.

Whereas the metres used in dialogue and recitative were restricted, the sung parts were composed in a variety of metres. In Euripides' *The Trojan Women* (415 B.C.E.), for example, Cassandra sings her song, especially lines 308-340, in aeolics. Traditionally used for marriage songs, this metre consists of a choriambic kernel (-υυ-) to which short and long syllables can be added. Ultimately, as the audience knows, Cassandra does not wed her captor Agamemnon, but is slain by his wife Clytemnestra, so that by reason of its aeolic rhythm alone, her song takes on a horrible irony. In contrast, to express the exotic, Persian theme of *The Persians* (472 B.C.E.),[86] Aeschylus composed long sections of this play in ionics (υυ--). This metre is the "barbarian motif" of Greek tragedy because the music composed in this rhythm was considered extremely emotive and consequently, was regarded as oriental.

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[84] Of course, there is another explanation for the presence of *stichomythia* in Greek tragedies rooted in the socio-political sturcture of Greek society: Greek tendency towards dualism and dialectics.

[85] The (υ) is a short syllable and the (-) is a long one; the (χ) is anceps, the syllable which under certain conditions can be either long or short.

Facial expression was of no importance to the Greek actor, since he was always masked.[87] In tragedy, gesture and movement appear to have been simplified and broadened;[88] it is sometimes suggested that movement tended toward a set of conventionalized, stylized, or symbolic gestures like those used in mimetic dance.

Although it is now impossible to describe accurately the style of acting seen in fifth-century Greece, we can list several of its attributes that lead away from any contemporary notion of realism. First, the same actor usually had to play more than one role in a play. Second, men played all roles, including those of women. Third, the liberal use of song, recitative, choral passages, dance and masks led to considerable stylization, which, however, remained sufficiently recognizable to link the dramatic events to the spectators' own world.

1.2.3.2. The chorus and dramatic action

In the early tragedies the chorus was dominant, since the principle speaking parts were performed by only one actor, who left the stage often to change roles. In Aeschylus' plays, although a second actor was available, the chorus was still given as many as one-half of the lines. Furthermore, in *The Suppliants* (ca. 468 B.C.E.) the chorus serves as protagonist, while in *The Eumenides* (458 B.C.E.) it is the antagonist. After Aeschylus' time the role of the chorus diminished progressively until, in the plays of Agathon, it was hardly related to the dramatic action.

Historians disagree about the size of the tragic chorus. The traditional view holds that the number was originally fifty, but that it was reduced to twelve during the career of Aeschylus and raised to fifteen by Sophocles. Although there is no clear evidence to support any of these figures, the arguments for a fifty-member chorus are deduced primarily from three sources. First, there is the statement made by Aristotle that tragedy developed out of improvisations by leaders of dithyrambic choruses,[89] and the assertions of later classical writers who fix the size of the early tragic chorus at fifty largely because that was the size of the dithyrambic chorus. The second major source of evidence for a fifty-member chorus is Aeschylus' *The Suppliants*, in which the chorus was composed of the Daughters of Danaus, who, in mythology, were fifty in number. Third, the evidence for a chorus of fifteen is found in the commentaries of ancient writers, who wrote several centuries after Sophocles' lifetime and cited no authority for their statements. Nevertheless, it has long been accepted that the probable size of the chorus was fifteen in all the extant plays of Sophocles and Euripides. In later times, the chorus diminished in size, sometimes having no more than three members.

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[86] Aeschylus won a first prize with a trilogy from which only the play *The Persians* has survived. It is believed that that production was financed by Pericles himself.

[87] This important aspect of the Greek theatrical practice will be dealt in section 1.2.3.3. of this chapter.

[88] In contrast, in comedy everyday actions were exaggerated towards the farcical and ludicrous.

[89] Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449a 10-13.

Nevertheless, some Greek tragedies require a second chorus, essentially mute though sometimes provided with a few lines. Aeschylus' *The Suppliants* and *The Eumenides* (458 B.C.E.) includes a chorus of attendants on the Daughters of Danaus, while Euripides' *Hippolytus* (428 B.C.E.) has two quite distinct choruses.

As a rule, the chorus, being split up into more than one group, entered into the orchestra via passageways at either side of the *skene* with a stately march, sometimes singing. Both the theatrical and dramatic aspect of the chorus' entrance are expressed with one Greek word: *parodos* (*πάροδος*: lit. a side-walk),[90] whose physical aspect is illustrated in *Figure 1*, 5. The *parodoi* (*πάροδοι*)[91] of the extant plays vary in length from 20 to 2000 lines; they introduce the chorus, give exposition, and establish the proper mood. The songs that the chorus sang and danced in unison in the orchestra were called *stasima* (*στάσιμα*: lit. "standing songs") and used to separate a series of episodes. The chorus was usually divided into two groups who performed their choral songs or *stasima* in turn, that is in *strophe* (*στροφή*) and in *antistrophe* (*ἀντιστροφή*).

As the parts sung by the actors were composed in a variety of metres, so were the parts sung by the chorus, the rhythmic form of which was a signal for a new topic. For example, the narrative parts of the *parodos* of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (458 B.C.E.) were delivered in dactylo-epitrite, a metre associated with the narrative genre of dithyramb. It consists of a combination of dactylic (-υυ-υυ-) and epitritic elements (-υ-) joined by ancipitia (χ). When, in the central part of the *parodos*, the chorus sings a hymn to Zeus, the metre changes to simple trochaics (-υ-χ). The change in metre calls attention to the new subject: the hymn, which recalls the poetry of worship, stands out. A number of metres are expressive of strong emotion, above all dochmiacs (χ--υ-),[92] a metre especially appropriate to the panic felt by the Theban women in the *parodos* of Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* (476 B.C.E.).

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[90] The main source of the structure of tragedy comes primarily from the twelfth chapter of Aristotle's *Poetics*.

[91] *Parodoi* (*πάροδοι*) is the nominative plural of the noun *parodos* (*πάροδος*).

[92] See D.S. Raven, *Greek Metre: An Introduction* (London: Faber & Faber, 1962) 62-66.

After the Persian Wars the music of the dithyramb and later of the other dramatic genres was transformed. Whereas in the dithyrambs of Pindar, which were performed to the accompaniment of the flute, the words were of greater importance than the music, later, from ca. 450 B.C.E., the music became more important than the words. This development is most apparent in the plays of Euripides. Sound and sound effects became increasingly rich.[93] Compositions with frequently alternating rhythms (polymetry) superseded those with a more or less uniform metre. As a result, these polymetric compositions could not easily be performed by the chorus, who, as a group, were incapable of realizing the various rhythmic changes in dance and song. Thus, in the late works of Euripides the actor's singing became more and more frequent.

According to several theories, the chorus carried many functions in Greek tragedy. First, it is an agent in the play; it gives advice, expresses opinions, asks questions, and sometimes takes an active part in the action. Second, it often establishes the ethical or social framework of events and sets up a standard against which the action may be judged. Third, it frequently serves as an "ideal spectator," reacting to events and characters as the dramatist might hope the audience would.[94] Fourth, the chorus helps to set the overall mood of the play and of individual scenes. Fifth, it adds movement, spectacle, song and dance, and thus contributes much to theatrical effectiveness. Finally, it serves an important rhythmical function, creating pauses, increases in momentum or retardations during which the audience may reflect upon what has happened and what is to come.

In the fifth century B.C.E., the members of the chorus were amateur Athenian citizens chosen by lot. Nevertheless, they probably were not inexperienced, as choral dancing was so common in Greece, and as there were at least 500 participants each year in the dithyrambic contests at the City Dionysia. Since choruses were usually awarded to playwrights approximately eleven months prior to performance, training must have been spread over a long period. At the early stages in the development of Greek tragedy, the playwright choreographed and trained the chorus, but these tasks were later taken over by professionals. Most of the information that has survived about choral training concerns dithyrambs, but classical scholars and theatre historians usually assume that the same practices were used with drama. We are told that training was long and arduous, involving diet, exercise, and disciplined practice under the watchful supervision of several persons. We are also told that choruses were often pampered and given special treatment. Training and outfitting the chorus were the most important and expensive parts of the *choregos*' duties.

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[93] As Plato records in the *Republic* (397a 1-7), sounds such as the rolling thunder, the whistling of the wind, the creaking of wheels, the sound of trumpets, even the barking of dogs were frequently imitated.

[94] First Friedrich Schiller in "Über den Gebrauch des Chors in der Targödie" ("On the Use of the Chorus in Tragedy"), preface to *Die Braut von Messina* (*The Bride of Messina*), second August Wilhelm Schlegel in "Fünfte Vorlesung" ("Lecture V"), *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* (*Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*), and third Friedrich Nietzsche in *Die Geburt der Tragödie* (*The Birth of Tragedy*) saw in the chorus of Greek tragedy an "idealized spectator." Their influential views on the function of the chorus will be discussed in Chapter III of this dissertation, in which the intimate relationship between classical scholarship, philosophy and translators of *Oedipus the King* will be examined in depth.

1.2.3.3. Costumes, properties, footwear and masks in classical Greek theatre, and their signification

Other aspects which greatly influenced the overall visual style of a Greek theatrical production were costumes and masks. Several theatre historians have argued that the standard costume for all tragic actors and the chorus was a sleeved, highly decorated tunic (or *χιτών: chiton*), usually full-length. In addition to the tunic, they may wear a short cloak (or *χλαμύς: chlamys*) or a long cloak (or *ἱμάτιον: himation*). These garments are said to have been conventionalized and either derived from the robes of the Dionysian priests--thus indicating the actor's sacred and ceremonial function--or invented by Aeschylus early in the fifth century B.C.E.[95] However, it is far from clear whether the actor wore a standardized garment. Its presumed appearance is derived almost entirely from figures depicted on vase paintings. But this evidence has long been doubted for several reasons: (1) most of the vases are from a period later than the fifth century; (2) the relation of painting to actual theatrical practice is unclear; (3) and most important, other vase paintings, usually ignored by those who argue for a standardized garment, show actors in quite different costumes, and even those vases showing the presumed standard often depict deviations from it, including complete nudity.[96] Thus, the scholarly debate around costume in fifth-century Athenian theatre has led to the conclusion that, though the sleeved, decorated tunic may have been used, it is questionable whether it was standardized and worn by all actors.

Despite this controversy, there are a few clear references to costume in some of the surviving plays from this period. We can deduce from these references that tragic costume in fifth-century Athenian theatre seems to have used simple and obvious colour symbolism. Kings wore purple, young girls yellow, priests white, people in mourning black. For example, in Euripides' *Alcestis* (438 B.C.E.), Death is said to be clothed in a black and "terrifying" clothes. Several of Euripides' characters wear rags,[97] and the protagonists of Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (409 B.C.E.) and *Oedipus at Colonus* (406 B.C.E.) refer to their torn clothing. Although these references to costume may merely be included to justify departures from standard practice, they may also suggest that tragic costume was not rigidly prescribed.

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[95] In his *Frogs* (Lenaia, 405 B.C.E.), Aristophanes merely credits Aeschylus with clothing tragic actors in garments more dignified than those worn by ordinary persons.

[96] For a further discussion of this controversy, see J. Michael Walton, "Costume," *Greek Theatre Practice* (Westport, Conn. & London: Greenwood P, 1980) 147-54.

A few of the plays give some information about the dress of the chorus as well. In Aeschylus' *The Persians* (472 B.C.E.) and *The Suppliants* (ca. 468 B.C.E.), the chorus is said to be wearing richer and more exotic garments, thus signifying their foreignness, while in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (409 B.C.E.) the opposite point is made. An oft-repeated account of the first performance of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (458 B.C.E.) states that the chorus of Furies was so frightening in appearance that several women in the audience miscarried. Other textual evidence suggests a wide variety of costumes for the chorus. As a result, even those historians who argue for a standardized costume for actors have suggested that the dress of the chorus was determined by relatively realistic criteria such as sex, age, nationality, and social status. Did, then, one principle govern the costume of the chorus and quite a different one that of the actors? Although this seems unlikely, it is not impossible, since the state presumably supplied the actors' costumes while the *choregoi* supplied those for the choruses. A uniform principle would seem more logical, nevertheless, and it is possible that such characters as gods, other supernatural beings, and foreigners wore the sleeved, decorated tunic for which there was no precedent in native Greek dress, while the more familiar personages wore some variation of Greek garments.

Apart from costume, the properties, which both characters and the chorus carried, signified their rank or function in the play. Tragic kings were usually identified by their scepter, the warriors by their spears, the suppliants by their branches, heralds by their wreaths and travelers, like Ismene in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* (406 B.C.E.), by her wide-brimmed hat.

Another part of actors' and the chorus' costumes, which is surrounded by considerable controversy, was footwear. Earlier in our century it was believed that the tragic boot (*κόθορνος* or *cothurnus*)[98] had a thick elevated sole to increase the actor's stature by a few inches. Nowadays, scholars do not believe that the early twentieth-century assumption is true. They argue instead that the usual footwear covering the feet of the fifth-century performers were soft shoes or boots, often reaching to the calf. In vase paintings, figures are shown in a wide variety of footwear, or even barefoot.[99]

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[97] This piece of information comes from Aristophanes' depiction of Euripides and his characters in *The Acharnians* (425 B.C.E.)

[98] Later, the *κόθορνος* or *cothurnus* came to represent tragedy and the *soccus* comedy in the writings of Latin writers, like Plautus, Horace, Ovid and Pliny.

All performers during the fifth century, with the possible exception of flute-players, wore masks. This practice seems to have evolved during the sixth century, for in the rituals which predated tragedy, masks were worn sometimes but not always. Consequently, Thespis, the first to employ masks, had two traditions upon which to draw and, according to ancient commentators, he experimented with several types of disguise for the face--such as smearing it with wine dregs and dancing leaves in front of it--before adopting the mask. Tradition has it that Phrynichus was the first to introduce female masks and that Aeschylus was the first to use painted masks. Unfortunately, no masks have survived, as they were made of perishable linen, cork, or lightweight wood. Although in later periods the masks seem to have been considerably larger than the face and to have had exaggerated features, it has been suggested that in the classical Greek theatre, neither the size nor the expression seems to have been unduly enlarged. Masks usually covered the entire head and thus included the appropriate hairstyle, beard, ornaments, and other features.

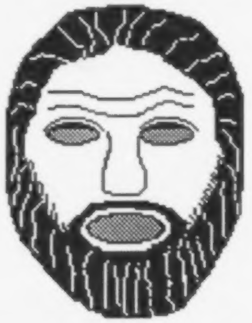

Figure 3. A fifth-century Greek mask.

As in tragic costume, so with tragic masks it is impossible to determine whether they were restricted to a few conventionalized types or not during the fifth century. According to Pollux, there was a long list of standardized masks in regular use which the members of the chorus wore and which were identical in appearance (Pollux, *Onomasticon*, IV. 133-140). Pollux adds to this list another list of differentiated masks which must have been used by actors to impersonate the characters of the play they were performing (Pollux, *Onomasticon*, IV. 141-142).

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[99] Fortunately, there is more agreement among scholars about costumes used in comedy, although the available evidence is no more reliable than that for tragedy. Most scholars agree that costumes employed in comedy were adapted from those worn in everyday Greek life.

1.3. Towards a conventional Greek theatre and drama

In the preceding sections, it has become evident that fifth-century Greek theatre and drama were highly "conventional." This implies, of course, that in this kind of theatre no attempt was made to represent "reality." Although the arguments of a tragic or comic play may passionately involve its spectators, there were various devices in the play itself that reminded the Greek audience that it was watching a play, not a slice of "real" life. And, although there is much controversy about scenery (*σκηνογραφία: skenographia*), it is generally admitted that the Greek theatre and its practitioners did not use any illusionistic scenery to represent, for instance, Oedipus' palace in Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* (ca. 430-425 B.C.E.), or Prometheus' rock in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* (ca. 468 B.C.E.). As noted earlier, it is true that, under Aeschylus or Sophocles, the *skene* was decorated, but this scene-painting was to provide a formal background against which the actors could perform and the action could unfold before the spectators' eyes. Depicting no specific place, the ubiquitous and unchanging *skene* was to set off the action without confining it.

Furthermore, the conventionalization of both Greek tragedy and comedy is characterized by certain quite distinguishable factors, which are all--but in a different degree--related to how the communication between the performers and the audience was established. One factor is the theatrical and dramatic communication between the players and the spectators that has been discussed in section 1.2.3. of this chapter. Another factor is what has been considered as dramatic economy, whose presence depends upon the setting and/or the highly suggestive language used by the performers. The intimate relationship between the setting and the language is suggested to the audience's imagination either by the dramatist's words alone, or by the physical presence of and the significance given to permanent or portable architectural elements in the theatre. Therefore, the setting is invoked only as it needs to be. To clarify how dramatic economy functions and how highly suggestive the language is in Greek tragedy (and comedy), we shall give two examples from extant plays. First, the intial setting in Aeschylus' *The Persians* (472 B.C.E.) is neutral. As the action unfolds, however, the spectators are required to move in their imagination to a place which is defined as the tomb of Darius. Second, in Sophocles' *Antigone* (ca. 441 B.C.E.) it is clearly stated that the action takes place in Thebes because there are many references to this city within the play itself. But is the action unfolding in or out of the palace, in the *agora* ("market place") or in another location? The audience is never told, for this sort of information does not influence the course of action.

When the surroundings condition action, however, the dramatist takes time to describe it, and all the architectural elements of the theatre may stand for what the play requires or what the speakers (characters or the chorus) have announced them to be; for instance, the *skene* can signify the *Areopagus* in Aeschylus' *The Eumenides* (ca. 430-425 B.C.E.),[100] the palace of Oedipus at Thebes in Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* (ca. 430-425 B.C.E.), or Medea's house in Corinth in Euripides' *Medea* (431 B.C.E.). We should, however, keep in mind that the actual physical background of the theatre did not change during the action of the play, except in the audience's imagination.

In such a highly conventional theatre verbal suggestion could immediately create a setting out of nothing or just as easily erase it. Should we describe this situation in semiotic terms, we can claim that there was a high degree of *semiosis* or *semiotization* [101] during the performances of Greek tragedies (and comedies). Another characteristic of the high degree of *signification* of the Greek theatre is its flexibility and mutability. The scenery (*skene*) did not confine the acting area nor were any drastic changes required to impede the flow of the action. One scene could flow into another without pause, and a supposed change of location required only a verbal reference. Therefore, the "unity of place" attibuted to Greek tragedy by neoclassical literary critics, theorists and playwrights is a "purely" neoclassical interpretation. If this "unity of place" exists in the ancient theatre, it is Roman in spirit, not Greek. Although it is true that the action of some Greek tragedies--like Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* (after 468 B.C.E.), Sophocles' *Antigone* (ca. 441 B.C.E.), Euripides' *Medea* (431 B.C.E.) and *The Bacchae* (produced after his death)--does not move from the locale initially established, there are tragedies in which action changes place either quietly or very abruptly. One example of the former is Sophocles' *Ajax* where the action first unfolds outside the tent of Ajax (the door in the *skene*) and then moves to a lonely site on a seashore. The place of action changes violently in Aeschylus' *The Eumenides* (458 B.C.E.) from Apollo's shrine at Delphi to Athens.[102] It follows, then, that the "unity of place" in Greek tragedy should not be taken too literally.

Finally, another participant in any theatrical communication is the audience. One of the least discussed aspects of a conventional or presentational theatre, such as classical Greek drama, is its demands on the spectators. In contrast to the illusionist theatre, the conventional theatre makes greater demands on its audience. Whereas the audience of the realistic theatre have less work to do for themselves or need of their imagination, the spectators of the conventional theatre have to work for themselves, and everything depends on the rapport between them and the performers. So we can say that a conventional play demands a special type of audience, willing to co-operate with the playwright and to go half-way to meet him. In other words, the spectators are no longer passive but transformed into an integral part of drama.

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[100] *῎Αρειος Πάγος* or *Areopagus* (Soupreme Court; lit. Mars' hill) is over against the Acropolis at Athens on the west side; on this hill the highest judicial court, called by the same name, was usually held.

[101] Both the transformation of various objects into signs and their mobility on the stage has been called *semiotization*. The different theories of the process of *semiosis* or *semiotization* has been discussed in the first section of Chapter I.

[102] A violent shift in place is more frequent in comedy because of its rapid pace, so for example in Aristophanes' *The Clouds* (City Dionysia, 423 B.C.E.), in which the action shifts rapidly between the house of Strepsiades and Socrates' Academy.

2. Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*

The question arises: how did Sophocles use the theatrical and dramatic conventions of his time? This section discusses the main characteristics of Sophocles' stagecraft and explores how the elements of dramatic and theatrical technique of representation are interwoven in his tragedy *Oedipus the King*.

2.1. Sophocles' drama and theatre

If in Greek tragedy Aeschylus attracts attention with his massive and marvellous theatrical effects, and Euripides with his staginess in scenes ranging from the realistic to those of ceremonial spendour, Sophocles' theatre is marked by the absence of this kind of conspicuous and easily definable exterior. That does not mean, however, that Sophocles does not employ spectacle at all or does not use it for his own dramatic purposes. To believe this would be to overlook the intricacy of his stagecraft and to exclude the spectacular element from his work altogether.

Although we could approach the subject of Sophocles' stagecraft in a number of ways,[103] we shall deal with one theme that invites the audience to look at the action in Sophoclean tragedies with a double perspective, through its own eyes, and through the eyes of those on stage. Characters usually provide an internal commentary on how they themselves visualize or "see" dramatic situations and an entire visual image of action is built up which the spectator matches against his/her own actual view. The most obvious expression of this is the paradox of blindness and sight which is brought out in the confrontation between Teiresias, the blind seer, and Oedipus in *Oedipus the King*. Who is really blind? The question is not merely contained in the situation but explicitly presented in the visual imagery of the verbal exchange, in the opposition of light and darkness and the interplay on physical and mental blindness. The poetic symbolism is independent of the scenic situation; in other words, the dramatic irony depends on what the audience already knows, on its awareness of Oedipus' incest and on his own ignorance of it, rather than on what it may see in the actual stage situation.

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[103] One of the ways to approach Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* is to examine its ritualistic character. Nevertheless, in this study we shall confine ourselves to the discussion of how the interplay between blindness and sight in this tragedy reveals Sophocles' linguistic virtuosity and stagecraft. Any references to ritualistic aspects of *Oedipus* will be made only to support our argumentation.

Another typical pattern of Sophocles' drama and theatre is a movement from delusion to truth. The climax is invariably a revelation, in terms of the visual metaphor, a moment when something is truly seen. It is exactly at this very moment that the perceptions of the characters on stage coincide with those of the spectator. The curve of revelation, the progression from illusion to reality, is thus reflected as a change in visual meaning, and expresses Sophocles' paradox, that is, how an intelligible universe is materialized, in the world of the stage, as visible action.

Therefore, this section is an effort to show how *Oedipus the King*, among all the Sophoclean tragedies, epitomizes the most formal harmony of spectacle and visual language. Hence, in the context of this study, visual language is referred to and covers the whole range of words connected with the operation of sight, words denoting the function and the mode of visual perception, the conditions, for example, of light and darkness, and the clarity or obscurity with which an object is seen. In this way, the language basically displays two distinct, though within the dramatic development, related emphases: one ironic, the other literal and corroborative. In each case the spectacle either contradicts or confirms the expressed perceptions of those on stage.

2.2. Aspects of blindness and sight in *Oedipus the King*

Oedipus the King opens with a movement, not a tableau,[104] and, before any word is spoken, a group of suppliants enters from a *parodos*[105] and walks quickly to the altars in front of the palace. The manner of their arrival and dress signify their need for salvation. They are dressed in the traditional style of suppliants, that is, in white tunics and cloaks, and their hair is bound in white fillets. Another sign of their supplication is that they are carrying olive-branches, wreathed with fillets of wool, which they lay on the altars.[106] The composition of the whole gathering is made up of three separate groups (16-20): aged priests, chosen young men, and children.[107] This division into three groups must be reflected in the stage presentation and seems to confirm that this initial entry is indeed a kind of formal procession. They all sit down by the altars where they have laid their olive-branches in a posture of supplication. The old priest, their spokesman, may either remain standing or be seated like his fellow suppliants until he is called upon to speak. As this large movement comes to an end and the crowd settles there is an air of expectation.[108] Then, Oedipus, the king of Thebes, comes forth from the central door of the *skene* which, in this case, represents his palace.

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[104] The question turns on whether the entry represents an arrival proper or a conventional method to allow the opening tableau or the so-called "cancelled entry" to be formed. In "The Play before the Prologue: Initial Tableaux on the Greek Stage," *Ancient and Modern: Essays in Honour of G.F. Else*, eds. John H. D'Arms and John W. Eadie (Ann Arbor, Mich.: U of Michigan P, 1977) 79-84, Burian presents a convincing case for the complete stage presentation that is fully formulated in the text as a ritual procession and which, as B.M.W. Knox has shown in his *Oedipus at Thebes* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1957) 159-60, is of great dramatic significance: the suppliants come to Oedipus as to a god. This interpretation is reinforced by the ambiguity in the beginning of the text and the scene: the suppliants approach altars which are god's but also Oedipus' (16), and, at this point, it is not explicit which altar is Apollo's. It is Oedipus, however, who appears at the door of the palace, near the altars, and, at this very moment we cannot avoid "equating" Oedipus with Apollo. For a discussion of the "cancelled entry" see O. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1977) 134-36.

[105] In this context *parodos* means a "side-walk" (*Figure 1*, 5), not the first ode sung by the Chorus while entering in the orchestra.

The visual relationship between the "solitary" standing figure of Oedipus and the prostrate assembly of the suppliants is immediately reinforced in a very striking way: "Ὦ τέκνα..." or "Oh children ..." (1). This is the very first word of the tragedy and shows Oedipus' role at this point: he is the leader, the protector and the patriarch of this people. Yet, Oedipus is also a real father, but a polluted one, who at the end of this play is forced to relinquish the daughters born of his own incest. So this Sophoclean drama begins and ends with an unexpected and striking image: Oedipus' trying to communicate with his "children."

Furthermore, the unexpected way Oedipus appears on the stage forms our first view of Oedipus: a man in the public eye, a beloved king who is sought by his people. The large group against the single figure provides the foreground for the interplay between the public and the private domain. All the attributes which the old priest attaches to Oedipus--the wise monarch, the intellectual, the saviour, the (almost) god--are enhanced by the stage picture. And appearances are grounded in facts: this scene is a repetition of a past calamity when the city was similarly cast down and raised by the wisdom of Oedipus, the outsider who solved the riddle of the Sphinx once and became the king of Thebes. Therefore, this is a man uniquely qualified to solve the mystery of the current plague.

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[106] This is Jebb's visualization of the scene. See Sir R.C. Jebb, *The Oedipus Tyrannus* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1893) 10.

[107] In the present study I use the Greek text from A.C. Pearson, *Οἰδίπους Τύραννος. Sophoclis Fabulae* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1928); the numbers in parentheses are the line numbers appearing in Pearson's edition. As mentioned earlier, any translation of the Greek text is mine.

[108] As Burian suggests in "The Play before the Prologue: Initial Tableaux on the Greek Stage," *Ancient and Modern: Essays in Honour of G.F. Else*, eds. John H. D'Arms and John W. Eadie (Ann Arbor, Mich.: U of Michigan P, 1977) 83, there is another possible scenario: the priest of Zeus might have been given a prominence on stage that might have lead the audience to believe that he was there to open the proceedings. In this case, then, the unannounced entry of Oedipus could have been quite a surprise for both the suppliants and the audience.

In none of the other extant plays of Sophocles does the action open with a public ceremony. Even more remarkable is the contrast between the expectations of the myth and the first theatrical impression. The man with the most unspeakable private life steps unasked and unhesitating into the limelight of a large open assembly. The setting is more than a physical context; Oedipus understands it by instinct and identifies with it. But this splendour carries a double meaning. The truth is not a buried thing, it is just lying in wait for the man of public conscience. Therefore, right from the beginning of this tragedy, illusion and reality co-exist, overlap and are confused with one another.[109] Every self-conscious response of Oedipus to the public situation opens up a recess of his private life which, under the spectators' eyes, and to his increasing fascination, fulfils the meaning of the stage presentation. The course of events rests upon him; he is the one who must act.[110] But he has already acted! As Oedipus himself tells the suppliants he has sent Creon, his brother-in-law, to consult the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, and he has become restless about Creon's unreasonable delay; he is ready to "act" upon all that god "makes plain" (69-78). His last words coincide explicitly with a signal onstage which announces Creon's approach. As the old priest admits, the suppliants near the left *parodos* signal to him (σημαίνουσί μοι; 79) that they have caught sight of Creon.[111] Then, as Creon strides into view, Oedipus makes a brief and fervent plea:

> ὦναξ Ἄπολλον, εἰ γὰρ ἐν τύχῃ γέ τῳ
> σωτῆρι βαίη λαμπρὸς ὥσπερ ὄμματι.
>
> O Lord Apollo, would that he come *bright* in saving fortune,
> even as [his bright] *eyes*.
> (80-81)

Creon's arrival is a message of light from the revealing god, a sight which betokens hope and comfort. Yet Oedipus' words are cautious, allowing for the discrepancy between brilliant "appearance" (*ὄμματι: ommati*) and brilliant fortune (*τύχη: tyche*). The priest also interprets Creon's entrance with a similar undertone of uncertainty: Creon wears a crown of bay leaves, which is rich with berries, a further token "to all seeming" (*εἰκάσαι: eikasai*) of welcome news (82-83).

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[109] The importance of this theme is the main concern of Karl Reinhardt's brilliant study, *Sophokles* (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 1947) 104-44 or *Sophocles*, trans. Hazel and David Harvey (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979) 94-134. Henceforth, it will be referred to as Reinhardt, *Sophokles*. For another brilliant study of *Oedipus*. See also Jean-Pierre Vernant and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Ambiguity and Reversal: On the Enigmatic Structure of *Oedipus Rex*," *Tragedy and Myth in Ancient Greece*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Sussex: Harvester P & New Jersey: Humanities P, 1981) 87-119; hereafter it will be quoted as Vernant and Vidal-Naquet, "Ambiguity and Reversal."

[110] This search for truth is reflected thoughout in the explicitness of Oedipus' language and in the control he tries to exercise over events and people.

[111] See Jebb's stage direction, *The Oedipus Tyrannus*, 22; and his footnote on line 78.

Therefore, Creon becomes a sign before he speaks. His first arrival not only denotes that he is the bringer of news, but also introduces the dilemma between appearance and reality, a problem which Oedipus will confront untill the end of this play. Creon's appearance gradually comes into sharper visual focus. The concern about his absence, the theatrical warning of his approach, the general impression of his "bright" countenance, the detailed description of his Delphic crown and the final confirmatory contact, all dramatize a movement which passes by the crowd of suppliants and halts in front of Oedipus himself. Visual effect coincides with visual meaning, and the audience is already in the position of observing Oedipus' perceptions, the very matter of the tragedy.

After his first reassuring statement, Creon is ready to go within to disclose the content of the oracle in private. But Oedipus demands a public disclosure, identifying himself with those around him:

> ἐς πάντας αὔδα. τῶνδε γὰρ πλέον φέρω
> τὸ πένθος ἢ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς· ψυχῆς πέρι.
>
> Speak it to all; the grief I bear,
> I bear it more for these than for my heart.
> (93-94)

At this, Creon delivers Apollo's "manifest" (*ἐμφανῶς: emphanos*; 96) bidding: there is a defilement in the land that must be driven out. The murderer of Laius, Oedipus' predecessor, must be expiated by banishment or by retaliatory bloodshed (100-101). At this point, we notice that the language of Creon carefully avoids mentioning the number involved in the crime. We also observe Oedipus' preference for visual rather than hearsay evidence:

> ἔξοιδ᾽ ἀκούων· οὐ γὰρ εἰσεῖδόν γέ πω.
>
> I know it by hearsay. For I never *saw* him.
> (105)

The irony in this statement is abundant, as Oedipus not only has unwittingly seen Laius, but he has also killed him!

Oedipus' illusion about his true situation is supported by one apparent fact which gradually materializes in the course of Creon's reconstruction of the event. The "murderers," as they are first casually referred to, become the "robbers" of an eyewitness's report, thus discounting the idea of a single offender. After Creon's initial vagueness, the number and nature of the criminals are established. Consequently, Creon's message matches the visual message of his entry; everything is hung on one single thread of visual evidence: all the servants in Laius' escort were killed except the fleeing eyewitness who was uncertain about what he saw. Passing over the eyewitness who is a nameless nobody at this point of investigation,[112] Oedipus, the King of Thebes, takes up the threat to his kingship and the state he represents. Nonetheless, this faceless servant is waiting, and the foundation for the revelation of truth has been established.

The report of robbers quickly engenders the suspicion of bribery and implants in Oedipus' mind a whole new illusion which is inherent in the theatrical situation and fostered by it: the actual threat to Oedipus himself becomes a threat to the city that he embodies, and to the office with which increasingly he identifies himself. Generating a new illusion, the report of Laius' murder begins to be propped up not only by apparent truth but by its collusion with dramatic circumstance.[113] And why, asks Oedipus finally, was a crime of such magnitude not followed up? Creon's last response yields the result of the whole enquiry, a *pattern* of mystery:

> ἡ ποικιλῳδὸς Σφὶγξ τὸ πρὸς ποσὶ σκοπεῖν
> μεθέντας ἡμᾶς τἀφανῆ προσήγετο.
>
> The riddling Sphinx compelled us to let *unseen* things (*taphane*) go
> and to think of what lay at our feet.
> (130-131)

Oedipus seizes on the words which summon him to his appointed role:

> ἀλλ' ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς αὖθις αὒτ' ἐγὼ φανῶ.
>
> Well, from a new start I shall *again bring them to light* (*phano*).
> (132)

In this context, it appears that Creon's arrival represents a second visual challenge for Oedipus which, however, comes neither from Apollo nor from the Sphinx; it rather comes from the unsolved mystery surrounding Laius' murder. Moreover, the outcome of the first meeting of Oedipus with Creon is the outcome of the prologue itself: the taking up of the challenge, which is also the culmination of Oedipus' part in the prologue. For Oedipus, the solver of riddles, this is not a new and strange encounter, but a confident resumption of his proper calling: Oedipus will be the great bringer of light (ἐγὼ φανῶ) again.

Before Oedipus retires to the palace, he bids the suppliants rise with all speed from the altars and lift their suppliant branches. But in the same breath, he demands another assembly of the Theban people as proof of his intention; he leaves the stage "to act," which is, by his own explanation, "to be made manifest":

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[112] The uniqueness of the survivor and his visual evidence, very pronounced in the original, already hint at the irony of the dismissal.

[113] The interrelationship between the new illusion and the innate illusion is well brought out by Reinhardt, *Sophokles* 108-10.

> ἢ γὰρ εὐτυχεῖς
> σὺν τῷ θεῷ φανούμεθ᾽, ἢ πεπτωκότες
>
> For either *we shall be seen* (*phanoumeth'*) successful
> with the god's help or fallen.
> (145-146)

The last speech itself, of which these are the parting words, is framed by the visual imagery, but its meaning has switched from active to passive. The role of revealer implies the revelation, but in a way which finally will cast the victor as the victim.

Oedipus makes his exit, followed by Creon. At the request of the priest, the suppliants rise, each taking their branch from the altars, and leave with the priest leading them.

There is a momentary pause before the *parodos* of the Chorus occurs. The Chorus are elders of Thebes and representatives of the whole community who are coming to hear their king. The connection to the theme is immediate. While the old priest leads off the procession with a prayer for salvation to Apollo, it is Apollo and his oracle which dominate the thoughts of the new arrivals.

> παιὰν δὲ λάμ-
> πει στονόεσσά τε γῆρας ὅμαυλος·
>
> The paean *shines forth* (*lampei*)
> blended with the voice of lamentation.
> (186-187)

So also in the invocation to Athena we are especially reminded of Creon's symbolic arrival:

> ὧν ὕπερ, ὦ χρυσέα θύγατερ Διός,
> εὐῶπα πέμψον ἀλκάν·
>
> For these things, golden daughter of Zeus,
> send your mighty *fair eye* (*euopa*)
> (187-188)[114]

A triad of deities including Apollo has already been summoned to "shine forth" (*προφάνητε: prophanete*, 164) as an aid against doom. The position of the Chorus' entry, after Creon has delivered the message from Apollo's oracle, allows for an emotional re-statement of the initial issue, the quest for light amidst death and disease. On this occasion it is not the human representative who is probed for meaning: the gods themselves are besought directly.

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[114] *Εὐῶπις* (*euopis*) < *εὐώψ* (*euops*): fair-eyed or fair-faced.

Thus, when Oedipus returns to the stage at the end of the *parodos*, he appears like a god.[115] Oedipus' second entry is as impressive as his first. He comes once again before an imploring assembly, he "joins himself" to his citizens and adopts the same self-conscious public manner, launching immediately into authoritative speech. The "stranger" (*ξένος: xenos*) cannot search alone, without a clue, he needs the co-operation of those who were on the spot at the time (220-231). This declared alienation from the crime is accompanied by a statement of the moderation with which he would treat the offender. But the more he speaks the more furious against the unknown polluter he becomes and, finally, he explodes in terrible imprecation; his sentence of exile ends up as a curse of ostracism.

The pronouncement is made against the "defilement" which Apollo recently "brought to light" (*ἐξέφηνεν: exephenen* ; 243). Thus for the second time the audience is told that the "defilement" is manifest. Here the speaker himself (Oedipus) is the defilement in person, he is Apollo's revelation. The real alliance between the divine and the human revealer comes grimly to the fore. Unwittingly, Oedipus is himself the object of his own search and Apollo's exhibit, as Oedipus will be proven to be the murderer for whom he is searching. It is the deepening of this irony which marks the development in a sequence of two apparently similar scenes. In the first scene, the silent crowd of suppliants invokes Oedipus' aid and he steps forth in his own right to become the great bringer of light. Nothing precedes his entry to diminish its impressiveness. In the second scene, the Chorus invokes the gods alone; Oedipus returns in the shadow of the long and magnificent hymn, which "shines forth" in homage to the true givers of light. Much more obviously than the first entrance, the re-entry involves a confusion of appearance and reality: the one who reveals, and the one who is going to be revealed; the heir to god's part, and the god's victim. This double vision is made even clearer by the Chorus who, under the impact of Oedipus' vehemence, declares that it is not the killer and that it cannot "point to" (*δεῖξαι: deixai*, 278) the killer. The inherent irony of the situation is evident: the Chorus cannot point to the killer who is the very man who stands before it.

The failure to see prepares for the arrival of the famous seer, whose assistance is now suggested by the Chorus (284-286). The nature of Tiresias' arrival is strikingly similar to that of Creon; the seer's coming brings a visual interpretation of Apollo's word and has already been arranged by Oedipus at Creon's prompting. There is the same surprise at the delayed appearance and on this occasion two messengers have had to be sent (287-288). This pattern of anticipation not only shows Oedipus' reputation as the great searcher but also invites the audience to make comparison. What will come to light this time? The longer the delay the greater the expectation will be.

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[115] Quite explicitly Oedipus is assumed to answer the prayers of the Chorus since the first word out of his mouth is "αἰτεῖς" or "you ask" (216). He may, then, return to the stage at some point before the ode concludes.

The arrival of Teiresias is revealing. Its preparation may have been similar to Creon's, but the actual event is different. The striding steps are exchanged for reluctance, and the eyes are dark. The seer needs help to find his way and, therefore, is guided by a boy in the conventional manner. Oedipus' greeting is fulsome and respectful, crediting the man who "cannot see" (302) with an inner sense of the city's extremity and placing himself and the Chorus in Teiresias' hands (300-304). Teiresias' response instead is an impersonal cry of dismay, a curse on knowledge as he realizes the full horror of the secret which he is there to disclose. He asks to be sent home and then obviously turns around to leave.[116] Oedipus' reaction seems to imply that the whole Chorus joins him in abject supplication (330-331); Thebes now looks to another saviour, and the great saviour, Oedipus himself, turns suppliant. The exchange is laced with language which makes plain the significance of the visual sequence: leaving is knowing, "stay" is the plea of ignorance (328-329). For a moment, Teiresias turns back but it is only to refuse to reveal what he knows:

ἐγὼ δ' οὐ μή ποτε,
τἄμ' ὡς ἂν εἴπω, μὴ τὰ σ' ἐκφήνω κακά.

I will never
bring to light (*ekpheno*) my own ills, not to say your own.
(328-329)

In this situation Teiresias speaks with studied obscurity and, therefore, he can be defined as the great concealer, Oedipus' opposite.

Confronting a series of refusals to speak, Oedipus immediately equates Teiresias' stand with the destruction of the state. His first passionate words take a particular form:

Οι. οὐκ, ὦ κακῶν κάκιστε, καὶ γὰρ ἂν πέτρου
φύσιν σύ γ' ὀργάνειας, ἐξερεῖς ποτέ,
ἀλλ' ὧδ' ἄτεγκτος κἀτελεύτητος φανῇ;
Τε. ὀργὴν ἐμέμψω τὴν ἐμήν, τὴν σὴν δ' ὁμοῦ
ναίουσαν οὐ κατεῖδες, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ ψέγεις.

Oed: Nothing! You the basest of the base, you'd enrage a heart of stone!
Will you never speak out, but *will you be seen (phanei)* as relentless
and never bringing matters to a head?
Teir: You've just blamed my temper but *have not seen* (*kateides*)
your dwelling close by, but you blame me.
(335-338)

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[116] At least Oedipus bids him "not to turn away" (326). The move also seems to be confirmed by the way in which Teiresias breaks off his utterance, as though reminded of his reluctance. See J.C. Kamerbeek, *Oedipus Tyrannus* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) commentary on line 325, 86-87.

Apart from Teiresias' sinister hint at the incest, the conflict becomes a contest between seeing and not seeing. Yet, from the beginning, sight is the language not of revelation but rather of wrath and insulting comments.

To Teiresias' last remark Oedipus reacts with rising anger and accuses him of complicity in a plot. Furthermore, he insultingly speaks of Teiresias' blindness which spells innocence of the actual deed (348-349). The prophet, reluctant before, is now stung into revealing that Oedipus is the defiler of the land (353). The bare and simple truth conceals much, and it manifests itself as anger. Oedipus, hardly able to believe his ears, presses for the charge to be repeated. Teiresias, after some resistance, becomes specific: Oedipus is the very murderer he himself is seeking; he then furthers the revelation on his own initiative, as though once begun the process cannot be stopped:

λϵληθέναι σϵ φημὶ σὺν τοῖς φιλτάτοις
αἴσχισθ' ὁμιλοῦντ', οὐδ' ὁρᾶν ἵν' ϵἶ κακοῦ.

I say that you have been living in unperceived shame with your dearest ones
and *do not see* (*oran*) that you are ashamed.
(366-367)

After the blatant accusation of the murder, the greater enormity of incest comes as a vague generalization, and is finally ignored by Oedipus. Gradually, there is a growing gulf of misunderstanding between the two men, and eyesight becomes more and more the very ground of taunt and counter-taunt:

Οι. ἀλλ' ἔστι, πλὴν σοί· σοὶ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔστ', ἐπεὶ
τυφλὸς τά τ' ὦτα τόν τϵ νοῦν τά τ' ὄμματ' ϵἶ.
Tϵ. σὺ δ' ἄθλιός γϵ ταῦτ' ὀνειδίζων, ἃ σοὶ
οὐδεὶς ὃς οὐχὶ τῶνδ' ὀνειδιεῖ τάχα.

Oed: For you this [strength of truth] is not there, since, you are *blind* (*typhlos*)
in ear and in mind and in *eye* (*ommat'*).
Teir: Yes, and you are wretched in uttering taunts
which every one of these here will soon be throwing at you.
(370-373)

The intensity of anger corresponds with the intensity of the visual imagery which now blossoms forth in full clarity to mark the first climax of the confrontation:

Οι. μιᾶς τρέφει πρὸς νυκτός, ὥστϵ μήτ' ἐμὲ
μήτ' ἄλλον, ὅστις φῶς ὁρᾷ, βλάψαι ποτ' ἄν.

Oed: You are nurtured by one unbroken *night* (*nyktos*)
so that you can never hurt me or anyone who *sees the light* (*phos ora*).
(374-375)

With this statement, Oedipus calls into being two different worlds of perception: what is light for one is darkness for the other.[117] Finally, unwittingly shutting himself out of Teiresias' world, he has to search, find and face a world of light and the whole horror of revelation.

The next move is the logical outcome of this chasm in communication: Teiresias leaves the fate of Oedipus in the hands of Apollo (376-377). But at the mention of the god, a thought suddenly flashes upon Oedipus. It was Creon who advised consulting Apollo's minister, the seer who now torments him! The performer of the deed is uncovered, the motivation ready at hand. The illusion nourished all along by the dramatic situation now emerges fully formed; Teiresias is a suborned quack: "ὅστις ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσιν / μόνον δέδορκε, τὴν τέχνην δ' ἔφυ τυφλός," or "who has *eyes* only for gain but is *blind* (*typhlon*) in his craft" (388-389). Where was Teiresias' "clear" (*σαφής: saphes*) prophecy when it was needed to solve the riddle of the Sphinx? The seer was not "publicly seen" (*προυφάνης: prouphanes*; 395) to have this skill. It was left to Oedipus, who "knew nothing" (ὁ μηδὲν εἰδὼς: o meden eidos; 397), to silence the enchantress by his wit. Oedipus compares his own native ability to solve riddles with Teiresias' mysterious and unforthcoming craft. Once again, the new illusion is supported by visible facts.

Against Oedipus' comparison and verbal attack Teiresias claims his equal status and judicial right: as the servant of god, not man, he has the power to speak the truth, even to a king (408-410). His judicial claim, however, ends with a second, more explicit revelation of Oedipus' disastrous situation and his ignorance of it:

> λέγω δ', ἐπειδὴ καὶ τυφλόν μ' ὠνείδισας·
> σὺ καὶ δέδορκας κοὐ βλέπεις ἵν' εἶ κακοῦ,
> οὐδ' ἔνθα ναίεις, οὐδ' ὅτων οἰκεῖς μέτα.
> ἆρ' οἶσθ' ἀφ' ὧν εἶ; καὶ λέληθας ἐχθρὸς ὢν
> τοῖς σοῖσιν αὐτοῦ νέρθε κἀπὶ γῆς ἄνω,
> καί σ' ἀμφιπλὴξ μητρός τε καὶ τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς
> ἐλᾷ ποτ' ἐκ γῆς τῆσδε δεινόπους[118] ἀρά,
> βλέποντα νῦν μὲν ὄρθ', ἔπειτα δὲ σκότον.
>
> And I tell you, since you did reproach even me with *blindness* (*typhlon*),
> that you both have *keen sight* (*dedorkas*) and do not *see* (*blepeis*) that you are evil
> nor where you dwell nor with whom you live. Do you know from whom you are?
> And you have been a foe to your own, in the world below and on the earth above;
> and the curse of your mother and father,
> double striking and deadly footed, shall one day drive you from this land,
> you who now *see straight* (*bleponta ... orth'*) but then *see darkness* (*skoton*).
> (412-419)

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[117] Reinhardt, *Sophokles*, 115-116.

[118] There is a lot of verbal play on Oedipus' name, involving the root οἰδ- (know) and πούς (foot). Here Teiresias plays on the meaning of Oedipus' name when he uses the word δεινόπους [δεινό (deadly) and πούς (foot)] to describe the parental curse that follows Oedipus; in other words, Oedipus, who "knows" everything and brings a birth mark on his foot, will be pursued by the curse of the "deadly foot." See Vernant and Vidal-Naquet, "Ambiguity and Reversal" 96.

The echoes of the first imprecation are unmistakable (366-367). The paradox of sight, already a more enigmatic formula than before, presents one kind of blindness and then another. Oedipus has to comprehend the darkness in which he is living and the darkness which is coming. Moreover, the forecast of the physical blinding is much more explicit here than in the first disclosure, but it also comes as a riddle: a throng of unguessed evils will make Oedipus "equal with himself and his children" (424-425). Teiresias has returned, enigmatically, to sameness, his initial theme. However, sameness in this context does not have social undertones, but the dreadful reality of Oedipus' private life: being both the father and the brother of his own children.

In a paroxysm of rage, Oedipus tries to get rid of Teiresias. Teiresias' plea for speech which inaugurated the encounter ends in Oedipus' refusal to listen. To mark the reversal, Teiresias reminds his summoner of his earlier reluctance to come. He is ready to go, but before he does so, he refers to the reputation for wisdom which he had enjoyed with Oedipus' parents. It is quite clear from what follows that Teiresias has turned to leave. But the mention of his parents, with its echoing words of birth, stirs something deeply in Oedipus: "Ποίοισὶ μεῖνον. Τίς δέ μ' ἐκφύει βροτῶν;" or "What parents? Stay! Who of mortals is my begetter?" (437) This important moment is well dramatized by the piece of stage business which has Teiresias turned around in his tracks to face Oedipus again. Revelation, apparently aborted, threatens anew. But what issues forth from Teiresias is another riddle which he uses to taunt the solver of riddles: "ἥδ' ἡμέρα φύσει σε καὶ διαφθερεῖ" or "This day will bring your birth and your ruin" (438).

Teiresias' resumption of his departure signals that the moment for revelation has passed (444). Oedipus, no longer the anxious enquirer, is eager to "speed" Teiresias on his way. But this time, Teiresias pauses in his tracks once more and delivers for a third time the message he was sent to give. But now he does not speak to Oedipus directly. He points to the victim, to a third person who is to illustrate his terrible prophecy:

> λέγω δέ σοι· τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὃν πάλαι
> ζητεῖς ἀπειλῶν ...
> ... οὗτός ἐστιν ἐνθάδε.
> ξένος λόγῳ μέτοικος, εἶτα δ'ἐγγενὴς
> φανήσεται Θηβαῖος, οὐδ'ἡσθήσεται
> τῇ ξυμφορᾷ· τυφλός γὰρ ἐκ δεδορκότος
> καὶ πτωχὸς ἀντὶ πλουσίου ξένην ἔπι
> σκήπτρῳ[119] προδεικνὺς γαῖαν ἐμπορεύσεται.
> φανήσεται δὲ παισὶ τοῖς αὑτοῦ ξυνὼν
> ἀδελφὸς αὑτὸς καὶ πατήρ, κἀξ ἧς ἔφυ

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[119] Although we translate σκήπτρῳ into stick, it is worth noting that in the original there is double entendre since σκήπτρῳ means both royal sceptre and stick.

> γυναικὸς υἱὸς καὶ πόσις, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς
> ὁμόσπορός τε καὶ φονεύς, ...
>
> And I tell you--this man whom
> you have been seeking ...
> ... this man is here,
> in name a foreign resident but soon
> he *shall be shown* [*phanesetai*] a native Theban and shall not rejoice
> in his fortune. A *blind* man, he who now has *keen sight*,
> a beggar, who now is rich, he shall travel to a strange land,
> feeling the ground before him with a stick.
> And he *shall be seen* [*phanesetai*]
> at one brother and father of the children with whom he lives,
> son and husband of the woman from whom he was born,
> partner in his father's bed and shedder of his father's blood.
> (449-460)

In this statement, there is no attempt at enlightenment. The repeated passive "he shall be shown" (*φανήσεται: phanesetai*), the hinge on which the whole prophecy hangs, sounds and echoes the whole horror of visibility. Furthermore, its theatrical effect is a picture in which Oedipus is the central figure, the unknowing onlooker of his own approaching doom.

With his prophecy articulated, Teiresias turns abruptly on his heels and is slowly leaving the stage escorted by his young guide. True insight and physical blindness could not be more dramatically demonstrated. His final insistence on staying and speaking is an exact reversal of his initial move to remain silent. Oedipus for his part, after acting himself as suppliant to get Teiresias to stay, is glad to see him leave and speak no more. The two antagonists exchange the postures of silence and speech, each in the end coming to occupy his opponent's former ground. The survival of separate worlds in this context asserts the impasse of communication between Oedipus and Teiresias. And the whole pattern of frustrated revelation is made visible in the dilemma between leaving or staying. The actual separation of the two men confirms the final and unbridgeable gulf between them.

Despite the scene's emphasis on the paradox of sight and the detailed revelations of Teiresias, we can see how impossible it is for Oedipus to accept the whole truth, in one single revelation and at this early stage. The position of the Teiresias scene forces the issue to a premature climax and a kind of conclusion. Now, the play must begin on a new track. Yet, the preliminary sequence of search and revelation has an additional function; it has uncovered the essence of the hero's situation for the audience more explicitly than at the beginning of the play. The spectators then watch a second movement to the same point by a more elaborate route, the path to discovery for the characters on stage. The compression of the opening movement in *Oedipus the King* is exemplified in the language, which, at this stage, creates a paradox, for the Teiresias scene weaves an answer to a riddle, but does not unravel it.

The first *stasimon* which follows underlines the conclusion of the Teiresias scene. The Chorus first wonders who the murderer of whom Apollo speaks is but rejects the answer offered by the seer. The search that figures prominently at the beginning of the play is here repeated by the vivid search of the Chorus' imagination, for here Apollo himself is the stalker:

> ἔλαμψε γὰρ τοῦ νιφόεν-
> τος ἀρτίως φανεῖσα
> φάμα Παρνασσοῦ τὸν ἄδη-
> λον ἄνδρα πάντ' ἰχνεύειν.
>
> For recently from snowy Parnassus
> the message *came to light* and *flashed forth* (*phaneisa*)
> to make all search for the *unseen* (*adelon*) man.
> (473-476)

Oedipus' own image of light now pursues him. Thus, the hunter also becomes the hunted. But when the elders actually turn to the accusations against their king, they cannot bring themselves to believe that he is Laius' murderer. They echo instead Oedipus' own argument, that is, visual evidence.

> φανερὰ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ
> πτερόεσσ' ἦλθε κόρα
> ποτέ, καὶ σοφὸς ὤφθη
> βασάνῳ θ' ἁδύπολις·
>
> For *before the eyes of all* (*phanera*)
> the winged maiden came along ago against him,
> and *he was seen* (*ophthe*) to be wise
> and in the test of experience dear to the state.
> (507-510)

The Chorus here grants Oedipus what Oedipus pointedly denied Teiresias (395): the *visible* possession of wisdom in the test of the Sphinx. Again, it is the pattern of mystery which determines the state of perception thus framing the whole of the Chorus' thought; the "clear" (*φανεῖσα: phaneisa*) message of Apollo opens the ode, the "clear" (*φανερά: phanera*) coming of the Sphinx concludes it. Can the "unseen" fugitive (*τὸν ἄδηλον ἄνδρα*; 475) from the one be the "manifest" conqueror of the other? Oedipus' visible success is the last impression of the ode. We are back to the world of the prologue, to the public events and the power of "appearances." The private realm is fugitive still, not yet brought to light.

Immediately following the first stasimon, Creon bursts onto the scene, indignant and ready to confront his accuser. The upcoming confrontation between Oedipus and

Creon is echoed in the preliminary exchange between Creon and the Chorus. Creon, in disbelief, tries to establish the facts:

πρὸς τοῦ δ' ἐφάνθη ταῖς ἐμαῖς γνώμαις ὅτι
πεισθεὶς ὁ μάντις τοὺς λόγους ψευδεῖς λέγοι;

Was the word *made clear* (*ephanthe*)
that the seer was speaking falsehoods through my persuasion?
(525-526)

And then, more pointedly:

ἐξ ὀμμάτων ὀρθῶν δὲ κἀξ ὀρθῆς φρενὸς
κατηγορεῖτο τοὐπίκλημα τοῦτό μου;

And was this charge laid against me
from steady *eyes* (*ommaton*) and from steady mind?
(528-529)

As it becomes conspicuous, the theme of blindness and sight does not fade away with the departure of Teiresias. It is becoming rather less explicit, lurking beneath the new development. The second meeting between Oedipus and Creon, like the first, proceeds from the problem of visual perception. But a change has occurred; when Oedipus enters the scene, he not only attacks Creon but also points to him, the "culprit," in plain view:

οὗτος σύ, πῶς δεῦρ' ἦλθες; ἦ τοσόνδ' ἔχεις
τόλμης πρόσωπον ὥστε τὰς ἐμὰς στέγας
ἵκου, φονεὺς ὢν τοῦδε τἀνδρὸς ἐμφανῶς
λῃστής τ' ἐναργὴς τῆς ἐμῆς τυραννίδος;

Have you such a front of boldness
that you came to my house,
who are *manifestly* (*emphanos*)
the murderer of this man and *visible* (*enarges*) robber of my crown?
(532-535)[120]

After a while, however, Creon, the man under attack, moves to the offensive, introducing friendship as a new focus to the battle of conflicting appearances. The "false friend" which Oedipus "clearly sees" (*phainei*) in Creon is confronted with the real friend, equally visible. Creon, the reasonable man, without cause for ambition, speaks at length in the awareness of his own innocence. Let Oedipus not condemn him on "unseen" opinion (γνώμῃ δ' ἀδήλῳ; 608). Had he been a traitor it would have "shown up" before now (613-615). It is Creon who has the last word before Jocasta, Oedipus' wife and Creon's sister, intervenes when the quarrel is at its height.

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[120] *'Εναργὴς* (*enarges*): distinct, visible (in bodily form), brilliant, this attribute, depending on the context, is a carrier of "visibility."

The part which Jocasta plays is defined in the Chorus' announcement of her arrival. She is the appeaser, but, more than this, her entry changes the whole external framework of the play. Oedipus' private life materializes in a concrete way, suddenly interrupting the political action. Abrupt in manner, Jocasta takes the initiative from the moment she enters. She scolds the two men and orders them to their separate homes. But the actual separation is accomplished only by the exit of Creon. Oedipus instead stays for his important scene with Jocasta. The business of leaving and staying is high-lighened by a *kommos* (656-696) which gives the separation a special significance and effects the transition to the confidential encounter between Oedipus and Jocasta.

The *kommos* is divided into two separate segments by the exit of Creon and the brief passage of dialogue which accompanies it. The first segment, the dialogue between Oedipus and the Chorus, is a lyrical elaboration of Jocasta's initial attempt to get Oedipus to take Creon at his word. But it is noticeable that the Chorus employs the very argument which Creon made earlier: Oedipus is accusing a "friend" on the grounds of "unseen" (ἀφανϵῖ: aphanei) rumours (656-657). Thus the main issue of visual perception is restated, but now in Creon's favour and with the greater power of the full Chorus. Desperately appealing to the Chorus' loyalty, Oedipus raises the issue: it is either Creon or himself. The question of guilt comes to hinge on Creon's departure, and on whether Oedipus will let his "manifest" culprit go; and Oedipus yields to the Chorus' suggestion. The winner is the one who leaves. Creon does not only have the last word, but his departure is the end of the illusion of an ouside conspiracy.

Oedipus stays, and his staying is dramatized by the resumption of the *kommos*. The Chorus turns to Jocasta and asks her why she has not taken Oedipus quickly into the house. The phrasing of the question, however, clearly implies that Oedipus needs to be looked after, and his exclusion from the first lyrical exchanges following Creon's departure comes as a dramatic silence after Creon's final insult. Creon's exit has left Oedipus a shaken man. In the lyrical exchange which Oedipus finally has with the Chorus he feels betrayed by its position. But why has Jocasta changed her mind about Oedipus leaving, since her initial purpose was to get both Creon and Oedipus out of sight? She wants to find out what has happened. Oedipus stays to be revealed; Jocasta will be his comforter. The transition from the public to the private realm is to be completed.

From the start, Jocasta, like Creon, wants to be clear about things, and to help this situation she starts with a reference to her past life first. No sooner does she discover that Teiresias has accused Oedipus of Laius' murder than she dismisses the idea, and her attitude towards the seer's prophecies is a more confident reiteration than that of the Chorus. The fallibility of human prophecy is proved by the "visible" signs (φανῶ ...

σημεῖα; 710). The effect of the repetition is clear: Jocasta is rebuilding the visual certainty which has been lost with the departure of Creon. In doing so she appropriates the language of the great revealer, and there is a sense that she is taking over his role.[121] Appearance is now bound up with a new role: the desire to comfort.

Jocasta is very confident in her tokens of truth when she says of prophets:

> ὧν ἐντρέπου σὺ μηδέν· ὧν γὰρ ἂν θεὸς
> χρείαν ἐρευνᾷ ῥᾳδίως αὐτὸς φανεῖ.
>
> Pay no attention to them all; for what the god
> finds need to track, he himself will easily *bring to light* (*phanei*)
> (724-725)

Jocasta's conclusion is a repetition of her opening injunction, but with a crucial difference: her visible "truth" is overshadowed by the surer visible truth of the god which even now is gradually unfolding.

The process by which Apollo's light will come has indeed begun, even before Jocasta finishes her proof. The very matter which was meant to bring comfort strikes fear. All that the organized and elaborated revelations of Teiresias could not accomplish is achieved by Jocasta's casual phrase: "ἐν τριπλαῖς ἁμαξιτοῖς" or "at the meeting of the three roads" (716). The design is deliberate. It is clear from Oedipus' immediate response that this phrase has sent his mind in a whirl bringing back a vivid incident in his past (726-727). Oedipus' particular reaction to Jocasta's phrase "at the meeting of the three roads" becomes evident not only by his acknowledgement that this phrase has sent his mind into a whirl (726-727) but also by his response to Jocasta's question why he is turning away. His two sentence answer "I thought that I heard you saying that Laius was slaughtered at the meeting of the three roads" (729-730) supports the thesis that after Jocasta has pronounced the fated words "at the meeting of the three roads" (716), Oedipus does not seem to hear the rest of Jocasta's speech about her child's exposure and, in particular, her pinioning of its feet (717-725). If Oedipus had heard this information, a complete revelation could have occurred.

The further question is whether Oedipus' arrested attention is translated into stage movement. Jocasta's reaction seems to indicate that Oedipus has actually "turned away" (ὑποστραφεὶς: *hypostrapheis*; 728) from her, presumably at the moment he hears the fatal words. Such an effect would strike an echo with the stir caused by Teiresias' mention of "parents" and would mark, unmistakably, his separation from the greater truth of Jocasta's disclosures. How the first inkling strikes fear, and how remote it is from the ultimate horror! A brief revelation follows, the anxious progress to a first threshold of truth. The location, the time, the age and the features of the murdered king are all established by a flurry of questions from Oedipus. When everything in Jocasta's recount clearly tallies with an adventure of his own, Oedipus' apprehension grows:

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[121] This dramatic situation can be described only as "the ultimate irony" in theatrical terms, if we consider that the same actor could have played the roles of both Teiresias and Jocasta.

> δεινῶς ἀθυμῶ μὴ βλέπων ὁ μάντις ᾖ.
>
> I am terribly afraid that the prophet has *sight*.
> (747)

Thus, he applies the sweeping paradox of his previous conflict to this much more limited encounter with truth. One last detail is pressed for confirmation, the size of Laius' escort. Only then, in final agitation, does he utter his cry of revelation:

> αἰαῖ, τάδ᾽ἤδη διαφανῆ ...
>
> Alas! It is now *manifest* (*diaphane*).
> (754)

Ironically, when he has come to a part of the truth, his language suggests that all is transparent (*διαφανῆ: diaphane*); the anguish here is only half of the anguish and pain to come.

Yet there remains the final requirement for visible substantiation, the eyewitness. Is he available? Oedipus now eagerly seeks the man whom he has twice passed over. Jocasta knows of his whereabouts and vividly recalls his departure from the city:

> ... ἀφ᾽ οὗ γὰρ κεῖθεν ἦλθεν καὶ κράτη
> σέ τ᾽ εἶδ᾽ἔχοντα Λάϊόν τ᾽ὀλωλότα,
> ἐξικέτευσε ...
> ἀγρούς σφε πέμψαι ...
> ὡς πλεῖστον εἴη τοῦδ᾽ἄποπτος ἄστεως.
>
> As soon as he came from there and *saw* you holding power
> and Laius dead,
> he supplicated me ...
> to send him to the fields ...
> that he might be far *out of sight* (*apoptos*) of this city.
> (758-762)

Only now does it emerge that the eyewitness has "seen" more than the incident at the three ways. More obviously and more ominously than before, the death of Laius is visibly linked to Oedipus' accession to the throne. Also the eyewitness is not simply a repository of evidence connected with the murder; he has "vision" and "understanding." This newly acquired significance is also adapted to the paradox which expresses the basic tension between the will to reveal and the will to conceal; his vision is coupled with his determination to keep "out of sight." But he is available and, according to Jocasta, he will come.

It is now Oedipus' turn to reveal himself, to unburden himself completely. He speaks of his parents in Corinth, Polybus and Merope, of the drunken taunt that he was not their true son, and of his visit to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi to find out the truth of the matter. However, instead of answering his enquiry, Apollo "flashed forth" (*προύφηνεν: prouphenen*; 790) in speech, saying that Oedipus was doomed to lie with his mother. He also declared that Oedipus would "γένος δ'/ ἄτλητον ἀνθρώποισι δηλώσοιμ' ὁρᾶν" or "*manifest* before the *eyes* of men a breed unendurable to *see*" (791-792), and that he would slay his father. The impression is one of evil clarity, fashioned from the light of the oracular god and, significantly, unendurable to the eye. Oedipus, when he flees Corinth (794), tries to flee the future which the eyes cannot endure; he makes for some place where he should "never see" (*ὀψοίμην: opsoimen*) fulfilment of the evil prophecies (796). The horrendous content of the revelation is foreseen: incest, and with it the logic of self-blinding.

Only now does the part of the story come where he has to brace himself to narrate to his wife in detail what happened where the three roads meet. Although Jocasta tries to comfort him by dismissing his fears of his having slaughtered Laius, Oedipus insists that she summon the shepherd. This scene in fact ends ambiguously, with Jocasta's role unfulfilled. When she takes Oedipus into the palace, he is still the troubled one, she still the comforter. The man that "nobody sees" or has bothered to see is not the hinge of the whole visual dilemma. He who has persistently spoken of a single culprit now pins all his hopes on the tale that the murder was committed by many. It is not simply this scene which waits upon the crucial seizure of the eyewitness's importance but the whole of the preceding action, since he was first mentioned. The fatefulness of his "unique" survival approaches fulfilment.

Jocasta's scepticism and Oedipus' acquiescence are followed by the second stasimon, the central and more problematic ode (863-910) of the play, which--among other interpretations--harbours an impassioned appeal for purity and piety. The elders have become disquieted at what they take to be blasphemy, and assert the traditional values of religion and morality. Without explicitly censuring the two figures (Jocasta and Oedipus) who have just withdrawn, they complain of a criminal and arrogant contempt for the gods. In particular, the whole of divine prophecy is threatened, and they pray, without realizing the dire implications for their lord, that the "fading" oracles of Laius may be fulfilled (906). Their whole utterance converges on the decline of Apollo's worship which is summed up in a last despairing thought:

> ... κοὐδαμοῦ τιμαῖς 'Απόλλων ἐμφανής·
> ἔρρει δὲ τὰ θεῖα.
>
> And nowhere is Apollo *manifest* (*emphanes*)
> in honours and faith is gone.
> (909-910)

The eclipse of Apollo is particularly impressive in the light of their previous ode, of which the above-mentioned utterance is to a large extent a recantation. In that stasimon the visibility of Apollo was proclaimed but counterbalanced by the visibility of Oedipus. Here the vindication of Oedipus seems to entail the fading of Apollo. As discussed earlier, the play can also be interpreted in terms of the relationship between Apollo and Oedipus, both bringers of light. At this important stage, the balance which was previously conceived is now shown to be impossible, thus creating expectations for the upcoming confrontation between man and god.

The ode, however, is interrupted by the entrance of Jocasta, who is accompanied by an attendant bearing emblems of Apollo's worship. Her entry is quite unexpected and gives the impression of unfinished business, to bring release from fear. Quite clearly as a last resort, she approaches the altar of the god whom she has just scorned. No sooner has she offered her brief prayer for deliverance than an old traveller eagerly enters the acting area. The messenger seems to be a stranger, the news seems to be good. But immediately the spectators are able to see through to a reality which comes in the nature of a reversal. Taken with Jocasta's reappearance, the effect is of one unexpected entry after another. This is not the shepherd summoned in haste but a complete stranger from Corinth. There is a sudden spontaneity about the action which contrasts noticeably with the planned appearances of Creon and Teiresias. There is also a sense of "loss of control" made all the more apparent by the conspicuous absence of Oedipus, who has overseen previous arrivals. In fact, the Corinthian messenger has to seek Oedipus out and he does so in a curiously playful way, his first homely enquiry seemingly making sport of the similar sound in Greek of Oedipus' name and the word for "where," which in Greek reads as follows:

> ἆρ'ἂν παρ'ὑμῶν ὦ ξένοι, μάθοιμ'ὅπου (opou)
> τὰ τοῦ τυράννου δώματ'ἐστὶν Οἰδίπου; (Oidipou)
> μάλιστα δ'αὐτόν εἴπατ' εἰ κάτισθ'ὅπου. (opou)
> (924-926)

What is new, then, about this arrival is the sense of a game in which "appearance" actively seeks out its victim and "reality" is waiting to be all the more crushing.

The absence of Oedipus also plays up the dominant but still unfulfilled role of Jocasta. The fact is that she is there to receive her husband's anxieties personally and interpret them in her own way. When she hears the news that Polybus is dead, Jocasta is exceedingly glad and despatches her maid-servant to bring Oedipus, while she proclaims the falseness of oracles. The irony of the visual sequence, the prayer and the response, is here marvellously brought out. Jocasta, who has just approached the god as her last resort, takes a clear demonstration of the divine power as confirmation of her scepticism. Moreover, it is for her a visible thing: Oedipus is summoned to "look at" at the state of prophecy. His re-emergence, which is instant upon Jocasta's request, increases the excitement of the unexpected turn of events. Jocasta is the one to tell him, but only of the death of Polybus. And Oedipus yields to a way of seeing: "Φεῦ, φεῦ, τί δῆτ' ἄν, ὦ γῦναι, σκοποῖτό τις / τὴν Πυθόμαντιν ἑστίαν...;" or "Alas, alas! Why, indeed, my wife, should a man *look at* (*skopoito*) the hearth of the Pythian seer?" (964-965). The messenger looks on them in astonishment as the joy now rings out between these two people before him. The exclusion of the "stranger" from the dialogue is important; for the moment he is out of things, his signals of good and bad are confused and his role spoiled.

But then the seeming settlement of Oedipus' anxiety about his father is suddenly overshadowed by the lingering fear of his mother. Although Jocasta tries to appease him once again, the old man grasps the opportunity for which he was waiting: he is bursting with the very news that will alleviate Oedipus' fear. He can be important and win his reward. It is now Jocasta's turn to look on, powerless to stop the joyful chatter of the man who now takes over from her. The "real" movement of the second half of this scene is all contained and expressed in Jocasta's silence. She is, from first to last, the visual focus of the remaining action, and it is not simply the fact of her silence which makes her so. Almost immediately, as the old man first prepares, with obvious relish, the ground for his new and staggering revelation, Oedipus returns regretfully to the parents he has had to keep away from:

> ἀλλ' ὅμως
> τὰ τῶν τεκόντων ὄμμαθ' ἥδιστον βλέπειν.
>
> But nevertheless
> it is the sweetest thing *to see the eyes of parents*.
> (998-999)

This striking image presents Oedipus gazing at his parents and his parents gazing at him, a picture which is only the preface to his eventual excitement at the prospect of knowing who his true parents are, a revelation which the messenger from Corinth is about to offer. Said in the presence of Jocasta, however, these words create a shocking effect on the audience when they see Oedipus unwittingly gazing at his mother and her also gazing at him. Nonetheless, it is the silent Jocasta that brings into full play the fundamental ambiguity of perception which has been introduced in the beginning of this scene: her double role as mother and wife.

Being engaged in their discussion, Oedipus and the old Corinthian man slowly come very close, resulting in the former's withdrawing into the humble world of the latter, the world of final illusion. Instead, Jocasta becomes more and more silent and detached when she realizes her real and dreadful closeness to Oedipus. At this point, the old man's stage appearance gives a clear indication of the ironic turnabout: Jocasta's illusions about his coming are now replaced by Oedipus'. The symmetrical design is marked by the return of the visual imagery which gradually rises to a second peak of intensity, defining anew, through Oedipus' eyes, the visual expectations of the awaited arrival of the Theban herdsman.

Following Oedipus' request whether anybody has seen the shepherd who gave him to the old man from Corinth a long time ago, the Chorus thinks that he is the same man[122] that Oedipus was seeking to "see before" but suggests that Jocasta might best know that. Thus, the task of identification falls, like a stone, on the long-silent "wife." She tries desperately to change the course of action but in vain! Oedipus is now adamant to "see" this shepherd:

> οὐκ ἂ γένοιτο τοῦθ', ὅπως ἐγὼ λαβὼν
> σημεῖα τοιαῦτ' οὐ φανῶ τοὐμὸν γένος.
>
> It could not be that, with such *signs* (*semeia*) in my grasp,
> I will not *bring to light* (*phano*) my birth.
> (1058-1059)

His statement is reminiscent of Jocasta's first presumptions[123] and shows Oedipus ending the meeting where she began. It is his turn to claim what will and what will not be made visible by the herdsman:

> θάρσει· σὺ μὲν γὰρ οὐδ'ἐὰν τρίτης ἐγώ
> μητρὸς φανῶ τρίδουλος, ἐκφανῇ κακή·
>
> Take courage; even if I *shall be seen* (*phano*) thrice a slave from a mother
> who is thrice a slave, you *will not be seen* (*ekphanei*) base.
> (1062-1063)

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[122] The shepherd's double identity paralels that of Oedipus.

[123] Or as the Greek text reads: "καὶ μὴν ὀκνῶ μέν, ἂν δ'ἔρῃ μαθοῦσ' ἐρῶ" (749).

The climactic formulation of the imagery, taken with the one that immediately precedes, involves a remarkable switch from the active to the passive mode;[124] it is the victim once more who speaks. Here, the concern around which Oedipus' images of sight cluster is his birth. What he "visualizes," however, is all a final and most desparate illusion: he dissociates from his own imagined origins Jocasta, the woman with whom he is most horribly bound up , and whose true intimacy has been made evident by her long silence. The illusion does not, however, materialize out of nothing; it arises from an external situation. The arrival of the old Corinthian messenger, now silent once more, has given the dilemma of appearance and reality yet another shape: the paradox of the mother and the wife, which is reinforced and accompanied by the paradox of the lowly and the noble. This last divergence of perception is set up by the figure of Jocasta, who becomes the medium through which both Oedipus and the spectators interpret the situation from diametrically different angles: a wife's silence for Oedipus, a mother's for the audience. Once the issue is resolved by Oedipus' insistence that the shepherd be brought forhtwith, Jocasta "rushes" from the scene with a cry of anguish, which is interpreted differently by the Chorus and Oedipus. On the one hand, the Chorus, having ominously drawn Oedipus' attention to Jocasta's silence (1073-1075), now underscores her own parting threat that she will speak no more. Thus her long initial silence ends in the permanent silence of a last, anguished purpose. Oedipus, on the other hand, misperceives Jocasta's entire performance and her exit; he dismisses the "vain wife" (1078-1079) to embrace the "mother" who gave him birth: Fortune (1080-1081). The real mother has been exchanged for the illusory. The end of the scene makes finally explicit the underlying irony of perception with which the scene began, the inconceivable mingling of mother and wife in one and the same figure.

Oedipus' mood of elation infects the loyal Chorus: they fill out Oedipus' vision of his birth with the most exalted possibilities, the supreme delusion before the most hideous revelation. The brevity of the third *stasimon* indicates that Oedipus and the Corintian messenger stay on stage, while they wait for the arrival of the old Theban shepherd. And it is the old man from Corinth who will very soon become the link between the first and second scenes of revelation.

Finally, the Theban shepherd arrives but his arrival itself is an elaborate affair. It is not only very similar to Creon's in its exploitation of the long entry from the *parodos*, but also reminiscent of Teiresias' entry. The herdsman appears supported by two of Oedipus' attendants. He is of venerable age, clothed in rustic garb and probably rests upon a shepherd's staff. His progress is slow and he is led towards Oedipus. The contrast with the eager and playful entry of the Corinthian, which has just taken place, is very striking. Here is the man who purposely avoided facing the king, whereas the Corinthian messenger was eager to seek out Oedipus. The Theban herdsman enters to a waiting reception, in contrast with the sudden and unexpected arrival of the Corinthian. As the old man first comes into view, Oedipus "seems to see" the herdsman whom everyone has been seeking. Yet, he turns first to the Corinthian elder and then to the Chorus to ask them whether they have "seen" this man before. When the new evidence from Corinth and Thebes converges, the shepherd can do nothing else but approach Oedipus. The man who saw but who did not wish to be seen, is finally seen by everybody. Moreover, it is ironic that Oedipus alone "seems to see" the figure of fate for the first time. The stage is set, finally, for the second meeting and the true seeing.

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[124] In Greek the first verb φανῶ is in the active voice, whereas ἐκφανῇ is subjunctive of the aorist 2 in the passive voice. We should keep in mind, however, that, although φανῶ is a verb in active voice, its meaning is passive in Greek, too.

This scene reunites the three people involved in the meeting on Mount Cithaeron long ago and brings Oedipus' remote past--Teiresias' second riddle--to light. The sharp contrast between the two old men gets sharper: the Corinthian cannot stop chattering, the Theban has to be forced to speak. When the Corinthian triumphantly points to Oedipus as the very boy that the Theban gave him, the shepherd first absorbs the full horror of what is unfolding, and then screams at the Corinthian to hold his tongue; but it is too late! The rest of the scene takes pace between Oedipus and the herdsman with the old messenger looking on, much like Jocasta in the preceding scene, while his "help" turns into disaster. His function is over at the moment that he traps the Theban shepherd.

Oedipus extracts the truth from the horror-stricken herdsman word by word, threatening him with torture and death, if he does not speak out. This is the final confrontation between the one who knows all and the one who must know all. In the herdsman's hesitation, Oedipus orders his attendants to twist the old man's arms behind his back and every word of truth that comes out is forcefully wrenched from him. Only thus is revelation achieved which comes as a cry of desperation:

> ἰοὺ ἰού· τὰ πάντ᾽ ἂν ἐξήκοι σαφῆ.
> ὦ φῶς, τελευταῖόν σε προβλέψαιμι νῦν,
> ὅστις πέφασμαι φύς τ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ὧν οὐ χρῆν, ξὺν οἷς τ᾽
> οὐ χρῆν ὁμιλῶν, οὕς τέ μ᾽ οὐκ ἔδει κτανών.
>
> Ah! Ah! Everything has come out *clear*.
> O light, may I now look upon you for the last time,
> *I have been shown* (*pephasmai*) accursed in being born from those I was born from,
> accursed in living with those I have lived with,
> accursed in the killing of those I killed.
>
> (1182-1185)

Hence, this is the most climactic scene of all: a process of visible substantiation, a final true act of seeing. With these last agonized words Oedipus rushes frantically into the palace.[125] We should not, however, forget the presence of the two old men. The great king of the grand opening scene is discovered guilty of a murder and incest before their humble presence and through their crude agency. In Sophocles, the irony of appearance and reality often breaks down into a contrast between the noble and the lowly; it is often the humble who are the carriers of truth, and here Oedipus' fallen greatness is set beside the two old men's simplicity which can know no such fall. With Oedipus' frantic departure, they are left stricken and uncomprehending for a moment before they go their separate ways and move slowly out of sight, down the *parodoi*. This triple departure leaves the Chorus and the spectators with the impression of a total disintegration.

The *stasimon* which ensues is a lamentation of the fall. The fate of the great king is presented as a universal example of man's transitory and shadowy existence. And the main constituents of the reversal are exposed within the framework of his inevitable expulsion from illusion, the movement which we have just watched accomplished on stage. The lesson is immediately and vividly drawn at the start in the form of a question:

τίς γάρ, τίς ἀνὴρ πλέον
τᾶς εὐδαιμονίας φέρει
ἢ τοσοῦτον ὅσον δοκεῖν
καὶ δόξαντ᾽ ἀποκλῖναι;

For what man,
what man wins more of happiness
than a seeming and after that a falling away?
(1189-1192)

The Chorus refers not only to Oedipus' illusions about himself, but also to their illusions about him. Their answer is given in terms of the theatrical presentation: the images of Oedipus' former popular fame remind us of the opening spectacle, the very "seeming" which has dominated the play's perspective. Similarly, the second part of the ode asks the question and answers with the "evidence" of the new reality of incest. Here, in preparation for the closing spectacle, the language--which now carries its literal meaning--sets forth a reality now visible:

ἐφηῦρέ σ᾽ἄκονθ᾽ ὁ πάνθ᾽ὁρῶν χρόνος

Time the all-seeing has found you out against your will.
(1213)

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[125] This exit is significant, too, in that the interior (palace) is the woman's domain in Greek culture. Moreover, Oedipus' exit from the stage (public sphere) and his entry into the palace (private domain) presages violence.

The traditional idea of time as revealer is a favourite one of Sophocles, but in this ode the unwillingness of the victim is introduced as an important element which attunes us to the initial distinction to be made between what has been seen and what remains to be seen. Oedipus, even at the end, did not fully foresee the result of his search, whereas the spectacle he is about to make of himself comes after knowledge has been achieved, and is a deliberatele, self-chosen act. At the end, the horrified Chorus can only wish that it had never "seen" Oedipus (1217-1218), and the ode draws its final bitter conclusion:

τὸ δ᾽ὀρθὸν εἰ-
πεῖν, ἀνέπευσά τ᾽ἐκ σέθεν
καὶ κατεκοίμησα τοὐμὸν ὄμμα.

To say it true,
through you I got new breath
and through you I have now laid *eye* (*omma*) to sleep.
(1220-1222)

The image of the closed eye is the prelude to the most shocking visual disclosure in this tragedy.

When the Chorus finishes singing the last words of the ode, the second messenger from the palace enters. He has two tales of woe to reveal, one will be heard and the other will be "seen" (1224); one will be concealed in the palace and the other will soon be "brought forth to the light" (*φανεῖ: phanei*, 1229). The distinction prepares the Chorus and the spectators for the great exhibition of suffering which focuses on Oedipus alone; Jocasta's suicide will only be heard; we shall actually behold the result of Oedipus' self-mutilation. This revelation, however, is to be of a different kind from that which preceded: the woes are "willed" this time, not "unwilled" (1230), and the most painful sufferings which will be "seen" (*phanos'*), are these which are to be "self-inflicted" (1230-1231). The true climax of the messenger's warnings is to be an actual visible presentation.

After the messenger has reported what took place in the palace, he now prepares us for Oedipus' re-entry onto the stage when saying that Oedipus is crying for someone "to open the bolts" and "show" him to all the Thebans (1294-1295). Yet the emergence of Oedipus is a shocking spectacle. After the long and grisly tale of woe--and the constant warnings that we are on the verge of seeing it--the entry possesses a horror which is fully matched by the actual physical impression. Groping in his blindness, with his mask boodstained, Oedipus stumbles on to the stage and shows the terrible self-mutilation. The hero of this play puts himself on show. After the self-blinding comes self-exposure: thus the self-blinding is no longer a personal affair but rather a public concern; it is done for Thebes. Oedipus makes an emblem of himself, he brings to light what was always there, his own blindnesss. This is the awesome fulfilment of the public commitment he first made.

He does not speak for a moment; only the Chorus responds to the horrifying sight:

> ὦ δεινὸν ἰδεῖν πάθος ἀνθρώποις,
> ὦ δεινότατον πάντων ὅσ᾽ἐγὼ
> προσέκυρσ᾽ ἤδη.
>
> Oh terrible suffering for men to *see*,
> Oh most dread of all that I have met.
> (1297-1299)

Then the members of the Chorus actually turn away from the "sight" (1303), which fills them with fascination and horror at the same time (1306). After the great climax which saw Oedipus' departure, his return poses the danger of being anti-climactic. But the sensational visual event that Sophocles creates out of the return is not a gratuitous theatrical gesture. It is prefigured in the play's imagery, it is the seer's vision realized, it is the sight of sights in a tragedy which is about seeing. As in the beginning, so in the end, Oedipus draws the gaze of all.

The display of suffering, however, comes to its climax with the arrival of Oedipus' two daughters. His has begged Creon to be allowed to touch and hold them for a while. And the generosity of Creon is immediately substantiated when he grants Oedipus his request. But, by touching his daughters, Oedipus contradicts the whole purpose of his self-mutilation, when his hands become his eyes--as he himself declares (1469-1470). Oedipus hears their sobs, he gropes for them, and they come and cling to their father: "ὦ *τέκνα*" or "Oh, children" (1480). With this repeated echo of the opening spectacle, the reversal is brought home with crushing power: the tableau of exaltation is set against the tableau of ruin. As the suppliants were silent so now are his daughters. Here, at last, is the real father with the real children. He stoops down, bringing his bloody sockets level with his children's gaze:

> ὦ τέκνα, ποῦ ποτ᾽ἐστέ δεῦρ᾽ ἴτ᾽, ἔλθετε
> ὡς τὰς ἀδελφὰς τάσδε τὰς ἐμὰς χέρας,
> αἳ τοῦ φυτουργοῦ πατρὸς ὑμὶν ὧδ᾽ὁρᾶν
> τὰ πρόσθε λαμπρὰ προυξένησαν ὄμματα·
> ὃς ὑμίν, ὦ τέκν᾽, οὔθ᾽ὁρῶν οὔθ ἱστορῶν
> πατὴρ ἐφάνθην ἔνθεν αὐτὸς ἠρόθην.
> καὶ σφὼ δακρύω· προσβλέπειν γὰρ οὐ σθένω·
> νοούμενος τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πικροῦ βίου,
>
> Oh children, where are you? Come here,
> come to these hands of mine, hands of your brother,
> hands of your father, which made these once *bright eyes to see* in this way--his,
> who neither *seeing* nor knowing *was shown* (*emphathen*)
> to be your father by her from whom he himself was born.
> For you also I weep since I have no power to see you,

> when I think of the bitter life in the future.
>
> (1480-1487)

The whole visual meaning of his fate is condensed into the controlling imagery of the seeing and the being shown. After showing himself to Thebes, he shows himself to the silence of his children and horror turns to pity. The hands which so tenderly hold them are the hands which are imbued with abominations which he has done to himself. But, above all, they are the hands that "see": he "feels" the horror that he has created and once again he speaks of "seeing," which at this point is not the fullfiment of his first anguished purpose, the physical assault, but a new kind of inner vision.

In this final scene of the play, the external victory is Creon's. Oedipus first wins his way: he makes Creon promise that he will care for his daughters. Then, immediately, Creon puts an end to the lamentation and enforces his wish that Oedipus go into the house. There is still one last flash of the old Oedipus as he resists and imposes the condition that he will proceed to exile. But Creon insists that he wait for what is god's will. Oedipus' exit is not simply an exit but a forced and heart-wrenching separation from his children. Furthermore, his exit removes impurity from public space and makes it private; impurity is sent to where it came from: the palace. However much we may perceive the "recovery" of Oedipus in this final scene, the sequence is decisive. The departure and separation come last, and they represent the most devasting reversal; not only is the immediate will of Oedipus defeated, but the direction of the drama and Oedipus' control over it is handed over to Creon, the cautious man. Even in the final steps into the palace reversal is proclaimed: Oedipus, blind and helpless, is led off by Creon.[126] How different from his first impressive appearance! The final departure may contradict the expectations of exile, but it is a superbly appropriate answer to the initiative of Oedipus' first entry.

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, we can assert that *Oedipus the King* is not only typical of Sophocles' art but also the most typical of the playwright's stagecraft. Although it does not have the theatricality of some of his other tragedies,[127] it is a play of extraordinary visual power. The opening procession, with its divisions of age, its ritualistic character, its silence, is truly spectacular, and is balanced by the equally spectacular tableau at the end: two helpless children, also silent, clinging to their mutilated father. The importance of the final tableau for *Oedipus the King*, however, can be understood only if it is measured against the initial tableau. From success to ruin, from authority to impotence, from kingship to blindness and beggary, the reversal (*περιπέτεια: peripeteia*) comes out of a brilliant and taunting plot-construction, and makes the whole play a visual demonstration. Furthermore, the final scene of pathos is a climax of a long display of horror and suffering. The appearance of the stumbling and self-mutilated Oedipus on stage introduces a "spectacle of horror" which can be equaled only to the horror of staring at Pentheus' impaled head in Euripides' *The Bacchae*.

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[126] The distribution and even the authenticity of the last lines of the chorus are open to serious question. See especially the careful investigation of R.D. Dawe, *Studies on the Text of Sophocles,* vol. 1, (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 266-73, who concludes that they are spurious.

[127] See, for example, his *Philoctetes* (409 B.C.E.).

It is in the harmonious blending of the spectacular with the entire verbal and visual texture of the play that *Oedipus the King* is most typical of Sophocles' artistry. The scenic form of the entire play is constructed from the relationship between highly suggestive language and its visual effect. The opening and closing tableaux go beyond simple depiction and become visual declarations, a visual process. Could there be a better theatrical symbol of Sophocles' tragic view of human frailty than the blind and stumbling figure of Oedipus? The harmony of visual technique and visual meaning in *Oedipus the King* reveals the very core of Sophoclean dramaturgy, that is, how tragic conception and stagecraft are both united by the idea of vision and expressed through language.

CHAPTER III

OEDIPUS THE KING: ENGLISH IMITATIONS, TRANSLATIONS AND PERFORMANCES IN THE RESTORATION AND LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

Introduction

Why has Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* been translated and performed so often? In this chapter, we shall venture to answer this question by examining the relation of this very "canonical" Greek tragedy to the change of English dramatic and theatrical conventions and to philosophical, political and philological discourses during the Restoration period as well as in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

In the first section of this chapter, we shall first summarize Aristotle's *Poetics* and then discuss how this treatise on tragedy, a philosophical discourse and a critical canon in itself, has offered a Greek model for tragedy of which *Oedipus the King* formes the socio-aethetic landscape of the Western literary criticism and playwriting.

The second part will try to show how the Aristotelian tradition evolved into its Restoration counterpart, and which discourses were involved in that development. We shall demonstrate how contemporary politics and the politics of literary criticism and of theatrical performance were intertwined in the making of Dryden's "imitation" of *Oedipus*, and why this version became more popular than any other contemporary English translation of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*.

In the third and final part of this chapter, we shall propose that the revival of Greek tragedy and of *Oedipus the King* in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century U.K. and North America was due to three conflicting but sometimes overlapping discourses: philosophy, philology and politics. Choosing only the British and American target systems (TSs) from the wider European and North American polysystems, we shall compare the different degrees of influence of these discourses upon the British and American translations and productions of *Oedipus the King* and, eventually, discuss the difference in perception and reception by these systems. We shall also venture to analyze how the three distinct but interacting attitudes towards translating *Oedipus the King* into English--that is rendering this theatrical text into prose, verse and as prose and verse--formed the perception and reception of this classical Greek tragedy by the English-speaking world.

1. Aristotle's *Poetics*

Aristotle's *Poetics* has been the foundation for most discussions of tragedy since the sixteenth century C.E. , and has exerted incalculable influence on Western playwriting and critical theory. In this section, we shall start with a brief summary of this critical work and then discuss which aspects of the *Poetics* related to Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* either became the springboard for the neoclassical versions of *Oedipus*,[128] or, having been radically re-interpreted by Friedrich Nietzsche, pushed translators, producers and creative writers in a different direction.

The extant *Poetics* now consists of 26 chapters that we shall divide into the following five sections: chapters 1-5, 6-22, 23-24, 25 and 26. In the first and introductory section (chs. 1-5), Aristotle deals briefly with the psychological and historical origins of poetry and gives a concise account of the development of tragedy; he also proposes to discuss epic, tragedy and comedy as the main kinds of poetry, defining them as forms of imitation (*μίμησις: mimesis*).[129] In the second section (chs. 6-22), Aristotle gives his much-discussed definition of tragedy, then proceeds to analyze and discuss the structure and the emotional effect of this genre. In this section, chapters 20-22 discuss diction and are quite difficult to understand because they demand a good knowledge of Greek prosody and its phonetic system. In the third section (chs. 23-24), Aristotle deals with epic poetry and the principles of its construction , what it has in common with tragedy, and how the two differ. The fourth section (chapter 25) is a long section on problems and solutions and is of particular importance, because it contains the fullest Aristotelian view of what is expected of a poet; it also includes his defence of poetry. His main argument for poetry is that poetry is not about truth of fact in the same way as, say, philosophy or physics are. In the last section of this treatise (ch. 26), Aristotle is concerned with the relative excellence of epic and tragedy. Comparing these two genres, he argues that, although Homer is the greatest poet, tragedy in the hands of Sophocles, as it is manifested in *Oedipus the King*, becomes superior to epic as an artistic genre. Aristotle holds this position because he believes that *Oedipus the King* has the best plot and sets an example to follow.

One of the most important elements of the *Poetics* is the plot (*μῦθος: mythos*) which, according to Aristotle, is the heart of a tragedy, and everything revolves around it. At this point of our discussion, we need to understand how Aristotle uses this term in his *Poetics*. He takes over the word as used for a "legend," a "story" or a "myth," and in the course of the discussion he sharpens and defines it to the point where it becomes a technical term which is usually referred to as "plot." A distinction between these two denotations of *mythos* (*μῦθος*) in the *Poetics* is of crucial importance, because it shows, as we shall discuss later, the degree of influence of this critical work and Aristotle's discussion of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* upon Dryden's *Oedipus*, and how Nietzsche's re-interpretation of this term led to new English translations, versions and theatrical performances of *Oedipus* in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

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[128] We refer not only to Dryden's and Lee's *Oedipus* but also to Corneille's and Voltaire's *Œdipe*.

[129] The different interpretations of the Aristotelian notion of *mimesis* go beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Furthermore, in the *Poetics*, the word *mythos* (*μῦθος*) when interpreted as plot, is inseparable from the character and action (*δρᾶσις: drasis*) and closely related to such notions as probability (*τά δυνατά κατά τό εἶκος: ta dynata kata to eikos*: lit. *possible probability*), necessity (*ἀνάγκη: ananke*) and credibility (*τό πιθανόν: to pithanon*). The plot is also connected to concepts such as hamartia (*ἁμαρτία*), an error which derived from ignorance of some material fact or circumstance, reversal (*περιπέτεια: peripeteia*)[130] and discovery or recognition (*ἀναγνώρισις: anagnorisis*).

2. The Restoration period and the "imitation" of *Oedipus* by Dryden and Lee

It is not possible to jump directly from the dramatic and theatrical conventions of the fifth century B.C.E. and Aristotle's discussion of the plot of *Oedipus the King* in his *Poetics* to Dryden's *Oedipus* and the late nineteenth and early twentieth century British and North American translations and productions of this tragedy without considering at least two factors. First, the Renaissance and the unchallenged reputation that *Oedipus the King* has enjoyed since then and, second, the drastic changes that occurred in the structure of the British theatre in the second half of the seventeenth century and its consequences for English theatrical and dramatic conventions.

Although the development of ancient tragedy into its Humanist counterpart goes beyond the scope of this thesis, it is worth mentioning that during the Renaissance Sophocles' *Oedipus* was considered as the Greek tragedy *par excellence*. However, the virtually unchallenged reputation of *Oedipus* originated less in the recognition of the play's excellence than in the prominence of the play in Aristotle's *Poetics*. His references to *Oedipus the King* as an outstanding example of a well-structured play, encouraged the interpretation that he had derived the rules of a genre like tragedy primarily from this Sophoclean tragedy. Although, in his *Poetics*, Aristotle also refers to a number of other plays no longer extant, Renaissance writers believed and bestowed on *Oedipus the King* the same canonical status as they had given to the *Poetics*. It is also significant that the reputation *Oedipus* enjoyed as the tragedy *par excellence* during the Renaissance was a matter of prestige rather than a thematically oriented response to the subject of the play.

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[130] Peripeteia (*περιπέτεια*) should not be interpreted simply as "reversal of fortune," as it is usually the case in modern discourse, but rather either as "reversal of intention," when it is seen from the character's perspective, or as a "reversal of the direction of action" when it is viewed from the angle of the spectator or reader. For the sake of simplicity, I have rendered peripeteia (*περιπέτεια*) into the all-inclusive term "reversal."

Interestingly enough, with the development of Neoclassical and Restoration dramaturgy and the fading of a subject-centered response to tragedy, the prestige of *Oedipus* increased even further. But the more this Sophoclean play was cherished as the paradigm of the Aristotelian rules, the more some neoclassical writers reacted against it. It was not surprising, then, that playwrights and literary critics, such as Corneille and Voltaire in France and to a lesser degree Dryden in England, approached *Oedipus* with a critical eye in their own works and tried to improve on those aspects of this tragedy that, as they believed, did not quite follow the premises of Aristotle's *Poetics*.

Of these writers Dryden, like Corneille and Voltaire, agreed with Aristotle on the governing principles of the plot (*μῦθος: mythos*), but he disagreed with his stance that *Oedipus the King* has the best plot. He considered that there are too many flaws in Oedipus' character and improbabilites in his discovery (*ἀναγνώρισις: anagnorisis*) of the truth. Furthermore, he found the plot of *Oedipus* itself meagre and deficient to furnish him with enough substance for his own version. Therefore, in order to attract his contemporary theatrical audience and readership, Dryden introduced a subplot of secondary persons in his version, with the consequence that some of his secondary characters, like Creon, became as important as Oedipus.[131]

To understand fully the impact of *Oedipus* by Dryden and Lee upon the perception and reception of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* by the British theatrical audience and readership, we need to examine it first against the theatrical and dramatic conventions in England during the Restoration; second, against the French neoclassical tradition and, especially against Corneille's *Œdipe*; and, finally, against Dryden's own dramatic criticism and theory of translation.

2.1. The Restoration Period

2.1.1. Historical background

The Restoration period is a catch-all title for the years from 1660 to the reign of Queen Anne, a period which includes three reigns: King Charles II (1660-1685), James II

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[131] The French neoclassical writers Corneille and Voltaire followed the same general lines when they wrote their *Œdipe*. For a discussion of Corneille's *Œdipe*, Dryden's *Oedipus* and Voltaire's *Œdipe* see Ekaterini Nikolarea, "*Oedipus the King*: A Greek Tragedy, Philosophy, Politics and Philology," *TTR* VII.1 (1994) 222-34.

(1685-1689), and William and Mary (1689-1702). It marked the end of an experiment in republicanism and the end of the Puritan laws against holidays, plays, music, dancing, indoor and outdoor games. Once the Puritan lid came off, the Restoration English became merry again.

No matter how merry Restoration England sounded, it was also a period of conflict and internal turmoil. For example, although the age which gave birth to the Habeas Corpus Act, the Restoration was still an age during which Catholics and Nonconformists were persecuted, unlicensed books were suppressed and priests were hanged. The sources of that conflict and turmoil were religion and politics. Passionately Protestant, the average person feared equally the authoritarian right and the radical left. He clung to the Established Church with the King as its titular head, and hated almost equally the authoritarian right, the power of Roman Catholicism, especially as it was represented by Louis XIV of France, who sought to bring all Europe under his sway and back to the mother church. But the average person dreaded also conforming and nonconforming Puritans, whom he feared as rebels who sought to undermine the foundations of Church and state. Consequently, restrictive laws introduced against Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Quakers and other sects resulting in public officeholding being virtually limited to Anglicans. Even with the Toleration Act (1689) Nonconformists were officially recognized and the penal laws against them would not be enforced if they took oaths of fidelity to William and Mary and disclaimed the doctrine of transubstantiation. For the Catholics, the Act did nothing at all.

Because both Anglicans and Catholics were royalists and the Nonconformists were usually republicans, religious and political conflicts were practically inseparable. The political conflict involved the slow and often painful process by which an absolute monarchy was becoming a limited, constitutional monarchy. From James I, who claimed to rule by divine right, to William III, who owed his crown to Parliament, stretched eighty years of discord, turmoil and civil strife.

The paradox of the Restoration is that, although it was marked by wars to establish a constitutional monarchy, England itself prospered, and the average person found time and money for many pleasures. People read poetry, essays and plays. Strangely enough, two great Puritan poets, Andrew Marvell and John Milton, continued to flourish in that age. After these poets, the chief Restoration poets were Cowley, Dryden and Butler. It was also a great age of songs, especially for persuasion-to-love lyrics, which a host of minor poets turned out by the thousand. Because there was an emphasis on rationalism, satire started flourishing with the notable examples of Butler's *Hubridas*, Rochester's *Satire against Mankind*, Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*. Diary and political writings, like Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1652) or Locke's *Discourses on Government* (1690), also thrived.

The Restoration's chief claim to literary consideration, however, is its drama as it is expressed in Dryden's heroic tragedies, the sensational plays of Lee and the witty comedies of Congreve. Restoration drama is considered to have been a reaction against Puritan hypocrisy and to have been encouraged primarily by the scandalous example of King Charles II and his Court.

2.1.2. Restoration theatre and drama

Restoration drama reflects its period. Unlike other forms of art, a play, to be successful, must have been written to give immediate pleasure to a sizeable audience. When we read a Restoration play--imitations like *Oedipus* by Dryden and Lee included--we have to see it in terms of its date, through the eyes of its immediate audience, the small coterie of cultivated gentry who supported Restoration theatre. A Restoration play can be considered the product of four primary factors: stage, players, playwrights or "poets" and audience, of which we shall focus on the first three.

2.1.2.1. Stage: Theatrical companies and theatre architecture

At the beginning of the Civil War (1642), the edict of the Puritan Parliament closed all the theatres in London and a few years later most theatres were pulled down. By 1660 (when the Puritans were overthrown) most of the great Elizabethan theatres had already disappeared, and the few survivors were shabby, noisy and outmoded. In November 1660, two principal companies of players were organized: the Duke's Company at Dorset Garden and King's at Drury Lane, thus dividing a theatrical monopoly of all London. The King's Company played in different small theatres untill 1663 when the Theatre Royal, a fine new theatre in Bridges Street, near Drury Lane, opened its doors to the public for the first time.

Although there are only scarce drawings of the Theatre Royal, we have a good idea about its structure from Mr. Pepys's *Diary* .[132] According to his report, the proscenium arch split the depth of the stage into nearly equal parts. Behind the arch, in the "scene" area, four large, well-spaced pairs of wing flats, or shutters (usually wooden frames covered with painted canvas), opened and closed according to the settings demanded by the play. They slid in grooves across the stage, closing to represent painted houses, rooms, streets, and landscapes, and opening ("drawing") to disclose still deeper scenes or to "discover" players in various postures, situations, or tableaux. Cut-out flats with openings to show distant views gave the illusion of greater depth. All the wing flats could be opened wide to present a perspective which revealed scenes painted on the back shutter at the full depth of the stage. The players moved easily from the scene area to the forestage and back again, usually entering and leaving by the forestage doors, but they could step directly from one scene to another without leaving the stage. Within the stage area they could climb "practical" (i.e. solid or substantial) trees, walls, or battlements, sit on chairs, at dressing or gambling tables, and lie in canopied beds. This theatre burned down in 1663 and was replaced by the second Theatre Royal, which opened its doors to the public in 1664. We may have a better idea of this theatre, should we have a glimpse at one of its later renovations as shown in *Picture 1*:

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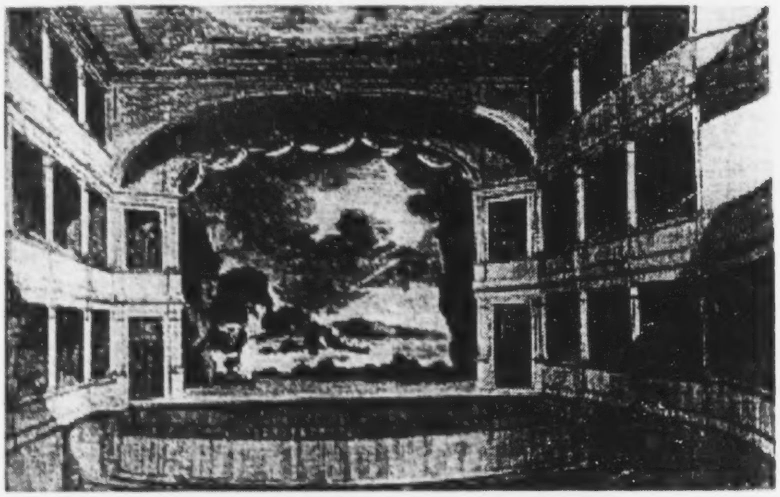
[132] See: (1) Helen McAfee, *Pepys on the Restoration Stage* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1916) 297-311; and (2) Samuel Pepys, *Diary. The Resotration Stage*, ed. John I. McCollum, Jr. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961) 126-76.



Picture 1. An aspect of the stage of the Theatre Royal in 1787.[133]

Meanwhile, the rival theatre to King's Theatre, the Duke's Theatre in Dorset Garden--known later as Dorset Garden Theatre--opened its doors on November 9, 1671. In structure it was much alike the first Theatre Royal in Bridges Street, but it was larger, more richly decorated and equipped with more elaborate machines.[134] The King's Company lost its playhouse by fire in 1672 and for two years while it was rebuilt, it was housed in Lisle's Tennis Court, recently vacated by the Duke's Company. When the rebuilt Duke's Theatre, a plain-built house which cost £4,000, opened its door in 1674, it made its rival theatre, the second Theatre Royal in Bridges Street, seem smaller. Until the end of the century the King's and Duke's Theatres remained the chief popular playhouses in London. In 1682, the Duke's Company swallowed up the remnants of the failing King's Players, and the newly-formed United Company kept both theatres in use: the Dorset Garden Theatre for spectacles and operas, the Theatre Royal for less demanding plays.

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[133] Taken from David Thomas, ed., *Restoration and Georgian England: 1660-1788* (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1989) 283.

[134] A more detailed description of the interior of this theatre is discussed in section 2.2.2. of the present chapter; its exterior is illustrated in *Picture 2*.

Restoration theatre inherited a great deal from the Elizabethan stage, and many earlier practices designed for realistic effects continued almost without change. Thus, for example, when a storm was to be represented, one scenekeeper (stage hand) rolled a cannon ball over sticks backstage or rolled and pounded a wooden mustard bowl, while another scenekeeper flashed pans of gunpowder, and a musician rumbled a brass drum.[135]

Just as on the Elizabethan stage, wounds were imitated by dollops of fresh sheep's blood, applied to the face or body with a well-soaked sponge tied inside the player's hand or contained in a bladder against his body, to be broken by the blow of a sword. Actors were wounded, tortured, and racked in full view of the audience, where their screams should be heard, and their agonized faces clearly seen. Victims died on stage, but usually within the scene area so that concealing flats could close, and the actors could get up and walk off by themselves.[136]

Although the stage was illuminated by daylight, chandeliers, and footlights, darkness on stage was still indicated by bringing on lighted candles, lanterns, or torches. When such lights were put out, the players groped about the stage in purely imaginary blackness. Another convention was that the forestage doors could represent anything the playwrights chose: closet doors, bedroom doors, cell doors. There were also trap doors in the forestage as there had been in Elizabethan theatres, for ghosts and spirits to make their sudden appearance, like Laius' ghost in Dryden's *Oedipus*. The settings were also elaborate and decorative.They ran the gamut of pictorial backgrounds, from romantic grottoes, caves, woods, and castles to sharply realistic pictures of well-known London scenes. Most of the scenery was used over and over in many different plays. Occasionally special settings were painted for a new play (in oil or distemper) at considerable expense. The sliding wings gave the playwright freedom to change his settings quickly and as often as he wished, without slowing the flow of action, and the complexity of stage machines gave him the means of all kinds of spectacular effects.

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[135] See Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul) 24-83.

[136] See: (1) Helen McAfee, *Pepys on the Restoration Stage* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1916); and (2) Samuel Pepys, *Diary. The Restoration Stage*, ed. John I. McCollum, Jr. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961) 126-76.

The costumes for singers and dancers in an opera were always fantastic, colourful, and expensive. But for the ordinary run of plays, the Restoration merely continued the practice of earlier theatres. Any play, no matter where or when it was set, was adequately performed in contemporary dress: the actor in full flowing periwig and wide-brimmed hat, long coat, lace cravat, flowered waistcoat, breeches cut to the fashion, shoes and stockings; the actress in any "French gown à-la-mode," with deep décolletage and the skirt looped back below the waist to show to topmost of several laced petticoats; see *Picture 3*.

2.1.2.2. The players

Perhaps the most revolutionary aspect of the Restoration theatre was the introduction of female actors to the stage. With the beginning of the Restoration (1660), the two monopolizing theatrical companies (King's and Duke's) discovered that they had to hire women to play female roles, because there were no trained boys available. Since the prohibition against women on the stage no longer prevailed, and many cavaliers in the audience had seen and liked the acting of women on the French and Italian stages, there was a demand for female actors, who came primarily from dancing and singing schools. In that way bevies of eager beauties and wenches in petticoats and breeches brought lustre to the stage and new interest to the old plays in which boys and young men had played female roles.

A good player was required to have a retentive memory, physical stamina and a thorough knowledge of all the behaviour patterns appropriate to the Restoration age. To understand why a retentive memory was one of the basic requirements for a good Restoration actor we need to consider that the actors played six afternoons a week, rehearsed almost as many mornings, and often put on after-supper performances for the King and Court at Whitehall or for the lawyers and law students at the Inns of Court. Because a new, or newly revised, play seldom lasted for more than three performances, the actors were everlastingly engaged in rehearsals.[137] When a brand-new play was accepted by the company, and the parts had been written out and assigned, the players spent two or three weeks rehearsing it, meanwhile presenting in the afternoons during that period half a dozen or more stock plays from their repertory. Once a part was assigned to a player, he was expected to keep it in memory to be able to recall it throughout his career.

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[137] See David Thomas, ed., "Rehearsals and Rehearsal Methods," *Restoration and Georgian England: 1660-1788* (Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1989) 160-65.

Concerning physical stamina, plays moved at a rapid pace, with only brief intervals between acts. In a typical tragedy, the actor fought rigorously with blunted sword and dagger, rallied his troops, made onslaughts and excursions, and bellowed out his passion with a voice that shook the scenes. In comedy, the actor was climbing ladders, trees and walls, jumping from windows, hiding under beds and tables, wrestling or fencing with watchmen, wits and women, and falling through trap doors. Because furniture was rarely used outside the scene area, the player with a major role had few chances to sit down during the three hours' traffic of the stage.

As far as a thorough knowledge of all the behaviour patterns appropriate to the Restoration period is concerned, there was no such a thing as "natural acting." For the most part, stage speech and stage conventions followed rigid, long-established conventions. Thus the devices of "asides" or "soliloquies" so frequently found in Restoration plays were inherited from the Elizabethan stage, and made plausible by the continued proximity of actor and audience. There was also a convention of rapid speed, brisk repartee and vulgar dialects for comedy and farce, and of singing speech for tragedy. When a tragic actor was in love he "canted" or "whined" musically. In dying he was expected to grimace, intone brokenly, and expire on a musical tone.

Furthermore, stage gestures were so conventionalized that the experienced spectator could get a clue of the player's emotion from the latter's gestures. Thus, to indicate that he had fallen in love, an actor stared fixedly at the fair one who caused his pain, folded his arms, and sighed deeply. To show that she returned his passion, the lady reciprocated with a broken sigh and a fainting look. To indicate reason or thought, on the other hand, the player pointed to his/her head or tapped his/her forehead. To register tenderness, pity or grief, s/he laid his/her right hand on his/her heart.[138]

But how did the young players learn all those theatrical patterns? The answer lies in the older actors in each theatre who taught the young people all the conventional gestures and ways of speaking. They instructed the young men how to fence, and, because comedies often ended in a dance by the entire cast, they showed the young men and women dances required by various plays. The older actors also taught the younger ones good manners: how to behave on stage as ladies and gentlemen should in real life; for example, they guided the young men how to be brisk and gay with ladies, and the young women how to coquet, handle a fan, heave their breasts, and make "doux yeux" or languishing eyes. An entertaining view of how the older actors taught the younger players is given in *The Man of Mode or Sir Fopling Flutter* (1676) by Etherege. In this play

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[138] For more information about the Restoration acting see Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul) 87-144.

Etherege presented on the stage a scene which suggests the instructions given to young players. Two characters, Young Bellair and Harriet, are pretending love to deceive their respective parents who are watching them from one of the doorways. Harriet leans agains the far wall, and Bellair, "like a modish spark," amorously entertains her in a dumb show.

> *Young Bellair*. (*To Harriet*). Now for a look and gestures that may perswade 'em I am saying all the passionate things imaginable—
> *Harriet*. Your Head a little more on one side; ease your self on your left Leg and play with your right hand.
> *Y. Bell*. Thus, is not?
> *Har*. Now set your right leg firm on the ground, adjust your Belt, then look about you.
> *Y. Bell*. A little exercising will make me perfect.
> *Har*. Smile, and turn to me again very sparkish!
> *Y. Bell*. Will you take your turn and be instructed?
> *Har*. With all my heart.
> *Y. Bell*. At one motion play your Fan, roul your Eyes, and then settle a kind look upon me.
> *Har*. So.
> *Y. Bell*. Now spread your Fan, look down upon it, and tell the Sticks with a Finger.
> *Har*. Very Modish.
> *Y. Bell*. Clap your hand up to your bosom, hold down your Gown. Shrug a little, draw up your Breasts, and let 'em fall again gently, with a Sigh or two, etc.
> *Har*. By the good instructions you give, I suspect you for one of those malitious Observers who watch peoples Eyes, and from innocent looks make scandalous conclusions.
> *Y. Bell*. I know some indeed, who out of mere love to mischief are as vigilant as Jealousy it self, and will give you an account of every Glance that passes at a Play, and i' th' Circle!
> *Har*. 'Twill not be amiss now to seem a little pleasant.
> *Y. Bell*. Clap your Fan, then in both your hands, snatch it to your Mouth, smile and with a lively motion fling your Body a little forwards. So—now spread it; fall back on the sudden, cover your Face with it and break out into loud Laughter—take up! look grave and fall a-fanning of your self.—Admirably well acted![139]

Colley Cibber, an actor , theatre critic and playwright himself, pointed out that in the eighteenth century the private character of an actor would always more or less affect his public performance.[140] Most of the players were short of education--a university graduate among the men was a rarity. The best players in the King's and Duke's Company were experienced, versatile and gifted. However, some actors sometimes became typed either because of their physical characteristics, or because of their success in a particular line. Consequently, audiences came to expect the appearance of these actors in very limited roles. One of the best examples of a typed Restoration player is Samuel Sandford of the Duke's Company. By nature, Sandford was a crooked little man, who was magnificent in playing the roles of a villain.[141] The audiences had seen him so often in the black wig of villainy that they could not conceive him as an honest man. But in one play, when Sandford played a virtuous role to the end of the play, the audience damned the play as if the author had imposed on them the most incredible absurdity.[142]

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[139] Sir George Etherege, *The Man of Mode or Sir Fopling Flutter*. *The Dramatic Works of Sir George Etherege*, ed. H.F.B. Brett-Smith, vol. 2 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1927) 223-24.

[140] See: (1) Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber*, ed. B.C.S. Fone (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The U of Michigan P, 1968); and (2) Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*: *The Restoration Stage*, ed., John I. McCollum (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961) 7-19.

[141] He also played the role of Creon, the hunch-backed villain, in *Oedipus* by Dryden and Lee; see sections 2.2.1. and 2.2.2. of this chapter.

2.1.2.3. The playwrights or "poets"

The career of a professional playwright in Restoration England was not a happy one. When he had two theatres to choose from, he had to write his play with an eye to the actors in one company. If that troupe refused it, he might have to rewrite it for the players of the other company. Because the companies were notably reluctant to pay for new sceneries and new clothes, he had to bear in mind the stock scenes and the costumes of each theatre. He also had to create roles suited to the special talents of popular players, and sometimes he went so far as to discuss a role with a player before writing it. If a company of players decided to produce his work, the poet spent several hours with them, reading the play aloud. He spent many mornings in the theatre while the play was in rehearsal. To get the best out of the players, he had to flatter them, give them little presents, and whenever possible, "fatten" their parts.

If a play was very successful, the company might offer the playwright a contract for his next effort and a small weekly retaining fee (a "pension") to keep him from starving while he wrote another play. Most professional writers were tied to a company by such an agreement, or were shareholders. John Dryden, for example, binding himself to write three plays a year, was admitted and continued as a sharer in the King's Company for several years, and received for his share three or four hundred pounds a year. In ten years Dryden wrote only nine plays for the King's Company, but the actors were dissatisfied until he himself broke the agreement by peddling to the rival company a play he had written in collaboration with Nathaniel Lee, *Oedipus* (1678).[143]

The professional poets suffered also from the envious attacks of rival writers, form the sneers of such arrogant noblemen as Lord Rochester, and from the strictures of such pretentious critics as Langbaine, Rymer,[144] Dennis, and Blackmore. Prologues and epilogues against the ignorance, malice and caprice of critics increased steadily throughout the period. The critics could damn a play for irregularity, bombast, or dullness, but their worst charge against a poet was plagiarism. The Elizabethans could borrow at will from the storehouse of European fiction and drama, but the Restoration playwright did so at his peril.

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[142] Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber. The Restoration Stage*, ed., John I. McCollum (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961) 15-16.

[143] For more details see section 2.2. of this chapter.

[144] The confrontation between Dryden and Rymer will be discussed in section 2.2.

The Elizabethan dramatist, writing in an expansive age of exuberant activity and exciting discovery, had a world of subjects to choose from. The Restoration's serious dramatist, hedged about by restrictions on all sides, was limited to a narrow range of subjects like love, ambition, revenge, villainy, and war; and the comic dramatist was confined to intrigue, farce, fornication, and folly. An aristocratic audience had not the slightest interest in realistic treatments of political or social injustice, corruption and immorality in government, the grinding poverty of the lower classes, or the problems of farmers, merchants, and craftsmen. The Jacobean dramatist had to remember that he was a poet, one whose work was expected to appeal to the imagination and give pleasure. He was an entertainer, not a philosopher, a social commentator, or a moralist. Let him preach morality as much as he liked, so long as it was upper-class morality. Let him present characters from every walk of life, but let it be understood that truly fashionable folk must be admirable, and that shoemakers, porters, shopkeepers, bawds, bumpkins, and fanatics must be made as ridicilous as possible.

Finally, to be a successful playwright, one had to study the stage, the actors, and the audience, to learn the rhetorical structure of good dramatic speech, the dramatic structure of a good play, and all the technical tricks by which a poet could move his audience to laughter or tears. One had to watch closely the audience's reactions to stock characters and familiar themes, and to read widely in drama and dramatic criticism. Often an experienced but unlearned actor could write a better play than the most profound scholar or the most brilliant wit. John Lacy, George Powell and Colley Cibber, all successful actors, were also successful playwrights. John Dryden, Thomas Shadwell, Aphra Behn, John Crowne, Nathaniel Lee and others were professionals, who produced more than a hundred and fifty successful plays between 1660 and 1700, as well as earnest students of the drama and stage, constantly at work in their laboratory, the theatre.

2.2. The *Oedipus* of Dryden and Lee

2.2.1. Dramatic aspects

Some twenty years after Corneille,[145] John Dryden, in collaboration with Nathaniel Lee, wrote *Oedipus* to be produced for the season of 1678-1679. As he admitted, "I writ the first and third acts of *Oedipus* and drew the *Scenary* of the *whole*

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[145] Corneille's *Œdipe* was first produced at Paris in 1659.

play."[146] This play was the result of Dryden's response to the problems that he had with his theatrical company (King's Company), his publisher and his critical adversary Thomas Rymer.[147]

When we place Dryden's and Lee's *Oedipus* beside their acknowledged sources in the plays of Sophocles, Seneca[148] and Corneille, we are likely to be struck, first, by the subplot of Adrastus, Eurydice and Creon--in which love and politics play a very crucial role--and, second, by the catastrophe in which all characters die. Following Corneille's neoclassical model *Œdipe*, Dryden sketches a subplot that could vary and complicate the main plot or, as he puts it, "*All we cou'd gather out of Corneille, was, that an Episode must be, but not his way* "[149] and introduces Eurydice who, like Corneille's Dirce, is Laius' daughter. He also replaces Corneille's character of Theseus with Adrastus, the king of Argos, a character, who is less likely to be "*a greater Heroe than Oedipus himself* " (Dryden, *Oedipus*, 116). Dryden did that because he believed that the development of the character of Theseus was one of the weakest aspects of Corneille's subplot, since he appears to be a greater hero than Oedipus, and, eventually, draws to himself the attention of the audience.

One of the most interesting characters in Dryden's *Oedipus* is Creon, who was mentioned by Corneille in passing but not allowed to appear on stage. Dryden's Creon is not, however, the noble and blameless Creon of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* but rather a villain. In Dryden's *Oedipus*, Creon is charged with uniting the tragedy structurally and thematically. From a structural point of view, it is the character of Creon who unites the main plot and subplot of the Jacobean poet, a task discharged in Corneille by Dirce with some assistance from Theseus. Moreover, and from a thematic point of view, Creon is busy in two plots aspiring, first, to rule in place of Oedipus and, second, to detach

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[146] John Dryden, *Oedipus*. *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. XIII (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: U of California P, 1984) 443. Any emphasis in the text is Dryden's unless otherwise indicated. Henceforth this text will be referred to as Dryden, *Oedipus*.

[147] Thomas Rymer (1641-1713) was one of the most prominent critics of the Restoration drama, second only to Dryden. He is frequently regarded as an advocate of French neoclassical ideas and a champion of taste (*le goût*). He placed more emphasis on probability, decorum and the "rules," while being convinced that failure to observe classical rules of unity inhibited the development of important drama in England.

[148] The other classical model upon which all the neoclassical versions of *Oedipus* were drawn was Seneca's *Oedipus*. Although this Latin writer was perhaps one of the most influential writers upon Shakespearean, Jacobean and Neoclassical writers, his *Oedipus* is not as influential upon Dryden's *Oedipus* as it is thought. The thematic and structural similarities between Seneca's *Oedipus* and Dryden's version of *Oedipus* will be discussed briefly in this section, and only when it is necessary. For Seneca's *Oedipus* see Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Oedipus*. *Seneca's Tragedies*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, vol. 1 [The Loeb Classical Library] (London: William Heinemann & New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1917) 425-523.

[149] Dryden, *Oedipus* 116.

Eurydice from her loved Adrastus so that he may marry or enjoy her himself. Perhaps more than any other character in this tragedy, Creon becomes a point of reference to literary antecedents and serves to bring on stage the fears and jealousies of contemporary politics. On the one hand, delineated as a hunch-backed villain, Creon courts Eurydice much as Shakespeare's Richard, Duke of Gloucester, woos Lady Anne.[150] On the other hand, some traits of Creon's character could easily be applied to the political figure of Shaftesbury, as seen through royalist eyes. In this context, we shall refer only to one example which, nevertheless, can display a striking parallel between Creon's behaviour and Shaftesbury's politics as described by the latter's contemporary political opponents. Just as Creon seized the opportunity of plague and foreign war to "insinuate" himself "into the multitude" and inflame the people against the court,[151] so Lord Shaftesbury was considered by loyalists to be using his influence for his advantage when he himself pressed other politicians for war with France.[152] Even Creon's physique becomes a trope of the literature and politics of seventeenth-century England. His physical deformity not only coincides with that of Richard in Shakespeare's *Richard III* but also with Shaftesbury's condition who, by the summer of 1678, was bent and walked with the aid of a stick. To a villain such as Creon, Dryden counterposes a king of excellent public character, much like Sophocles' *Oedipus*, as Dryden perceived him to be, and unlike the Corneillian Oedipus who was "*suspicious, designing, more anxious of keeping the* Theban *Crown, than solicitous for the safety of his People*" (Dryden, *Oedipus* 115).

At this point, a brief summary of Dryden's and Lee's *Oedipus* might be necessary in order to understand how a classical tragedy like Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* was transformed into a Restoration tragedy by these two playwrights. When the play opens, Oedipus is absent from Thebes and engaged in war with Argos; meanwhile Creon is laying plots against his throne. When Oedipus returns, he brings the captive Adrastus, whom he chivalrously sets free. From this point on, the play follows the general lines of Sophocles, so far as the discovery of truth (*ἀναγνώρισις: anagnorisis*) is concerned. The main difference between Sophocles' and Dryden's plays is that in the latter Oedipus is denounced not by Teiresias, but, as in Seneca, by the ghost--which Dryden, unlike

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[150] See Dryden, *Oedipus*, I, i; lines 103-177 and Shakespeare, *Richard III*, I, 2; lines 50-150. For Shakespeare's *Richard III* see William Shakespeare, *Richard III*, ed. John Dover Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1968) 12-16.

[151] Dryden, *Oedipus*, I, i.

[152] Around 1677-1678 England came close to being drawn into the war between France and Holland. There are overt references to that war in Dryden's Preface and Prologue to his *Oedipus*; see Dryden, *Oedipus* 115-19.

Seneca, brings on the stage. Moreover, the tragic climax is reached with the death of Eurydice, who is stabbed by Creon. After Creon has stabbed Eurydice, a massacre occurs. Creon and Adrastus kill each other; then Jocasta slays herself and her children, and, finally, Oedipus throws himself from the palace walls. Although Dryden had not intended to divide our sympathy between the fate of Eurydice and Oedipus, his *Oedipus* does exactly that. It also involves feelings such as loathing for the villainy of Creon and disgust at the wholesale butchery of the end. To understand, however, all the drastic modifications in this English version of *Oedipus*, we need to contextualize this play, first, in Dryden's literary criticism and theory of translation and, second, in its own culture.

As noted earlier, *Oedipus* was Dryden's response to his long critical debate with Rymer about "Ancients and Moderns," and the former's efforts to shorten the aesthetic distance that the latter had set between Jacobean and Athenian dramatists. Rymer's emphasis on the French neoclassical rules with his parallel condemnation of Shakespeare and other contemporary British dramatists[153] made Dryden respond with an English version of antiquity's masterpiece *Oedipus the King*. By writing his own version, Dryden tried to prove to Rymer that there was a continuing dramatic tradition from the ancients to the moderns. He also introduced a subplot to improve not only upon the "*ancient method*" but also upon the weak points of Corneille's *Œdipe*. In the Preface to *Oedipus*, Dryden claims that the subplot justifies its presence on the basis of "*Custom*" alone (Dryden, *Oedipus* 116). This phrasing in itself is very intriguing because it has converged with what has become very clear from the rest of Dryden's published and unpublished remarks: that he was not concerned with producing a theatrical text conformable to "the spirit of classical Greek tragedy" but rather a play closer to the "English Genius." Had he written *Oedipus* according to "the spirit of Greek tragedy," such a play would have been simply a paraphrase.[154] Although Dryden's *Oedipus* has paraphrastic moments in several scenes--such as the scene with the suppliants (I, i), that between Oedipus and Jocasta (III, i) and that between Oedipus and Aegeon (the messenger from Corinth; IV, i), where Sophocles is "*follow'd ... as close as possible* "[155]--it is rather an imitation, or the

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[153] Thomas Rymer, *A Short View of Tragedy; It's Original Excellency, and Corruption With some Reflections on Shakespear, and other Practitioners for the Stage* (London, 1693), partially rpt. *The Restoration Stage*, ed., John I. McCollum, Jr (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1961) 177-97.

[154] Paraphrase was one of the terms Dryden later used to distinguish between three kinds of translation: (1) the metaphrase, when the translator turns an author word by word, and line by line, from one language into another; (2) the paraphrase, or translation with latitude, which is the Ciceronian "sense-for-sense" view of translation; and (3) the imitation occurring when the translator shapes the original text as he sees it fitting in his own historical needs and context. See John Dryden, Preface, *Ovid's Epistles*. *The Works of John Dryden*, vol. I (Berkeley & Los Angeles: U of California P,1956) 109-19. Hereafter this text will be quoted as Dryden, *Ovid's Epistles*.

[155] Dryden, *Oedipus* 116.

"Endeavour of a later Poet to write like one who has written before him on the same Subject: that is, not to Translate his words, or to be Confin'd to his Sense, but only to set him as a Pattern, and to write, as he supposes, that Authour would have done, had he liv'd in our Age, and in our Country" (Dryden, *Ovid's Epistles* 116) After all, "'Tis not enough that *Aristotle* had said so, for *Aristotle* drew his Models of Tragedy from *Sophocles* and *Euripides*; and if he had seen ours, might have chang'd his Mind."[156] To put it another way, Dryden's and Lee's *Oedipus* as a whole strives to capture not "the spirit of Greek tragedy," but the spirit of the age and country in and for which it was written, the Restoration England.

2.2.2. Theatrical aspects

As noted earlier, the *Oedipus* by Dryden and Lee was performed at Dorset Garden Theatre by the Duke's Company for the season of 1678-79. Although the information about the date of the premiere is scanty and inconclusive, it must have been fallen between the opening of the season in September and the licensing of the play for publication in January 1679. The immediate success of those first performances was described as follows: "This Play was Admirably well Acted; especially the parts of Oedipus and Jocasta: One by Mr. Betterton, the other by Mrs Betterton; it took prodigiously, being Acted 10 Days together"[157]

Let us now turn our attention first to the architecture of the Dorset Garden Theatre, then to the actors who first played in *Oedipus*. Although any reconstruction of the interior of the Dorset Garden Theatre fails to be conclusive, we can still get an idea about its structure from the frontispiece as illustrated in *Picture 2*, and capture its interior from engravings and descriptions made by British and French commentators.

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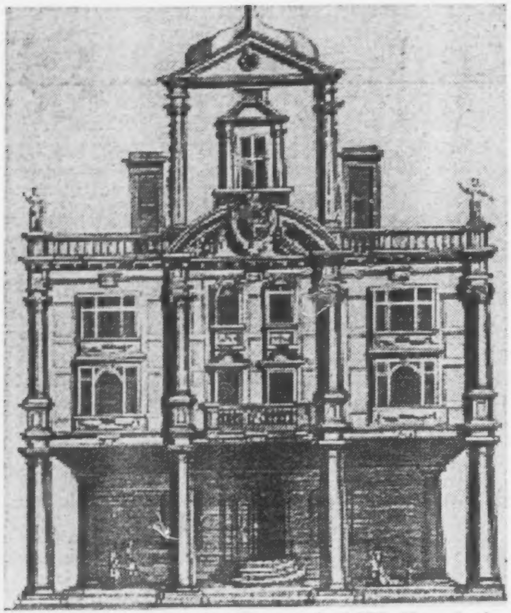
[156] John Dryden, *Heads of an Answer to Rymer. The Works of John Dryden*, vol. XVII (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: U of California P, 1971) 191.

[157] William Van Lennep, ed., *The London Stage: 1660-1800 (Part I: 1660-1700)*, vol. 1 (Carbondale, Il: Southern Illinois UP, 1965) 273.



Picture 2. Dorset Garden Theatre in 1673. Frontispiece engraved by W. Dolle for the 1673 performance of Settle's *The Empress of Marocco*.[158]

In other illustrations of the Dorset Garden Theatre which were made by W. Dolle,[159] it would seem that this theatre had an embellished stage area. That stage was divided into a forestage acting area, which was located downstage of the proscenium arch, and an upstage scenic area. In front of the proscenium opening, a pair of proscenium doors with balconies above them gave onto the stage. Behind the proscenium, with its drape curtain, there was a large upstage scenic area capable of handling a number of complex scene changes and "discoveries."

Regarding the structure of the auditorium, it was arranged in amphitheatrical form, or as François Brunet put it so in his *Voyage en Angleterre*:

> The auditorium is infinitely more beautiful and well-kept than those in the playhouses of our French actors. The audience is seated in the pit, arranged in the form of an amphitheatre, and there is no noise. There are only seven boxes, holding twenty persons each. There are the same number of boxes up above and higher still, there is the gallery.[160]

And it was that amphitheatrical form of the auditorium that made Dorset Garden Theatre shift away from a rigorous neoclassical design concept. In its place, the interior was lavishly decorated with Baroque detail and ornamentation. Nevertheless, its basic shape was a combination between the tennis court thrust and scenic stage and the Palladian preference of Inigo Jones and John Webb for a semi-circular auditorium.

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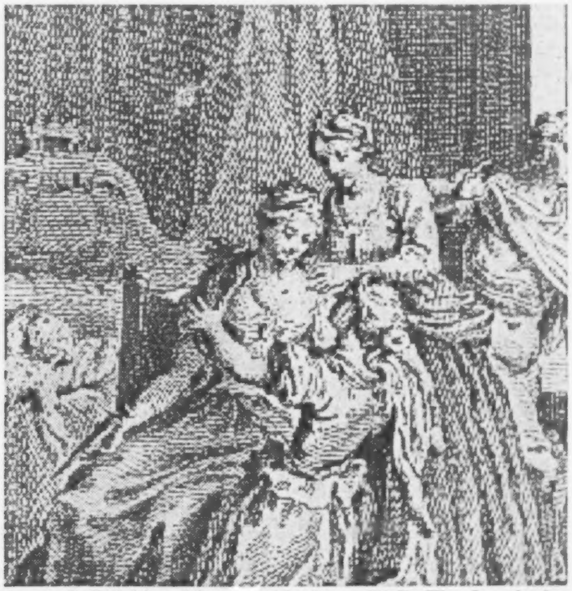
[158] Taken from David Thomas, ed., *Restoration and Georgian England: 1660-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 68.

[159] Unfortunately, these engravings are not available.

[160] Quoted from David Thomas, ed., *Restoration and Georgian England: 1660-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 69.

Regarding the production of Dryden's and Lee's *Oedipus* by the Duke's Company, Mr. and Mrs. Betterton played the roles of Oedipus and Jocasta respectively in the 1678-79 performances. This *Oedipus* so suited the Bettertons' talents that other Restoration actors and critics like Colley Cibber recorded and appraised their performances. Thomas Betterton had already become a leading British actor since he played *Hamlet* in 1661. It was he who would establish himself in the next quarter of a century as one of the greatest British actors. Although his physical built was unimpressive, both the finesse of his elocution and the strength of his presence commanded immediate attention.

Unlike her husband, Mary Betterton was not so famous, but when she performed the role of Lady Macbeth she was celebrated as a great actress primarily by Colley Cibber.[161] We can see Mary Betterton acting Jocasta (the seated lady) in the following picture:



Picture 3. Suicide of Jocasta (*Oedipus*: V, I). The frontispiece to *Oedipus* by Dryden and Lee.[162]

Two other actors who, like the Bettertons, were members of the Duke's Company and performed in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and Dryden' s *Oedipus*, were William Smith and Samuel Sandford. Smith played the roles of Banquo in *Macbeth* and Adrastus in *Oedipus*; Sandford played Hecate and Creon. William Smith, a co-manager of the Duke Company with Thomas Betterton, made a career by playing supporting roles to Betterton's leads. On the contrary, Sandford specialized in villain characters. According to Colley Cibber, Sandford was "Round-shoulder'd, Meagre-fac'd, Spindle-shank'd, Splay-footed with a sour Countenace, and long lean Arms," and "acted strongly with his Face, - and (as King Charles said) was the best Villain in the World."[163] Therefore, besides the character of Richard in Shakespeare's *Richard III* and besides the character and the physique of the political figure of Shaftesbury, Dryden and Lee must also have modelled Creon upon the features of Sandford when they were writing their *Oedipus*. According to Cibber, it was a thrilling experience to watch Sandford playing the role of Creon:

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[161] She was appraised primarily by Colley Cibber; see Dryden, *Oedipus* 445.

[162] Taken from Dryden, *Oedipus*, between the pages 210 and 211.

> though the hard Fate of an Oedipus might naturally give the Humanity of an Audience thrice the Pleasure that could arise from the wilful Wickedness of the best acted Creon, yet who could say that Sandford in such a Part was not Master of as true and just Action [acting, i.e.] as the best Tragedian could be whose happier Person had recommended him to the virtuous Heroe?[164]

It is the first time in our study that there is such strong evidence of playwrights (Dryden and Lee) writing an imitation of a classical Greek tragedy (Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*) with a specific cast in mind (the performers of the Duke's Company). We shall encounter similar cases much later in this study.

This Restoration version of *Oedipus* was popular for almost a century, for it was performed and published several times (Dryden, *Oedipus* 446-47). Its last recorded performance occured in January 1755, but "the audience were unable to support it to an end; the boxes being all emptied before the third act was concluded. Among all our English plays, there is none more determinedly bloody than 'Œdipus,' in its progress and conclusion."[165] How much the taste of British public had changed and how frightening Dryden's *Oedipus* was considered to be can also be seen in the brief note preceding the text in the 1791 edition when it was published in the series *Bell's British Theatre*. That note assured the readers that *Oedipus* "seldom makes its appearance upon the modern stage, and is hasting, with all its mythological brethren, to that repose, which only solitary curiosity disturbs in the silent though classic ground of the library" (Dryden, *Oedipus* 447).

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[163] Quoted from Dryden, *Oedipus* 445. For the expectations of the Restoration audience to see the typed actors play a limited range of roles see section 2.1.2. 2. of this chapter.

[164] Quoted from Dryden, *Oedipus* 445.

[165] John Dryden, *Œdipus. The Works of John Dryden*, ed. Sir Walter Scott, vol. VI (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & London: Hurst, Robinson, 1821) 121.

One of the interesting aspects of this imitation of *Oedipus* of Dryden and Lee is that, as we have seen earlier, it dominated the British market for almost eighty years and became the main source of the perception and reception of *Oedipus the King* by the English theatrical audience and general readership. Another interesting aspect is that, although there were "real" translations of *Oedipus*, of which some were both printed and performed,[166] it was Dryden's *Oedipus* that remained the perennial favourite.

It was not until the early nineteenth century that this deeply-rooted attitude towards *Oedipus the King* started to change. It was at this time that a new interest in ancient Greek letters (i.e. literature, rhetoric, history, art) was being expressed by the British public. That interest had been fostered by various reasons, such as: (1) the strong preference of the international and British Romantic movement for the glory of Greece instead of the grandeur of Rome; (2) the British educational system which laid stress upon the classics; (3) the dedication of some British scholars of the period, such as C.J. Bloomfield, J.H. Monk, P.P. Dobree, and P. Elmsley, to carry on the work of Porson and edit Greek texts rather than Latin; (4) the removal of the marbles from the Acropolis by Lord Elgin and their arrival in England from 1801 to 1812; and (5) the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence (1821-1829) and its support primarily from Romantics like Lord Byron.[167]

Nonetheless, it was in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that a second but even stronger wave of interest, a revival of Greek tragedy and Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* occurred on the Continent and in the English-speaking world. It is exactly that revival of *Oedipus the King* in the U.K. and North America that will be the subject of the remaining sections of this chapter.

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[166] *Oedipus, King of Thebes: A Tragedy* by Lewis Theobald (1715), *Oedipus Tyrannus. Three Centuries of Drama: English, 1701-1750* by George Adams (1729), *Oedipus Tyrannus. Poems and Miscellaneous Poems* by Thomas Maurice (1739), *Oedipus Tyrannus. The Tragedies of Sophocles from the Greek* by Rev. Thomas Francklin (1751), *Oedipus, King of Thebes. The Tragedies of Sophocles* by R. Potter (1788) and *Oedipus, King of Thebes* by George Sommers Clarke (1790). For bibliographical references see the Selected Bibliography appended to this dissertation.

[167] An interesting study on the different factors that influenced the opening of the English market to the translations of Greek literature is Finley M.K. Foster's Introduction, *English Translations from the Greek: A Bibliogaphical Survey* (New York: AMS P, 1966) xiii-xxix.

3. The late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century revival of Greek tragedy: English translations and performances of *Oedipus the King*

During that period, a wider European and North American public became interested once again in Greek tragedy in general and Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* in particular. As a result, many translations and theatrical productions of Greek tragedies and especially of *Oedipus the King* were made in the U.K., France, Germany and the U.S.A., and radical re-interpretations of the Oedipus myth and his life appeared primarily in France and Germany.[168] But how did that revival of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus* come into being? A simple explanation accounting for all its widely different aspects is not possible. It is also not possible to determine the influence of one single work or writer, or one specific reason, that could be seen as a starting point for the new approach to Greek tragedy. A great number of factors are involved, not all of them purely literary, dramatic or theatrical, but part of the development and overlapping of different discourses like philology, philosophy and politics.

To begin with, posivitism with its stress on objective and scientific methods was, among many other discourses, responsible for a tremendous amount of thorough scholarship in historical, archaeological and philological studies that increased the knowledge of the ancient world to a degree never achieved before. The Renaissance, Neoclassical or Restoration writers had far less information about life, politics, and religion in Greece at their disposal than did the translators and adapters of Greek tragedy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It is also worth noticing that the translators, poets and playwrights who either translated or wrote their own versions of *Oedipus*, were educated in schools in which classical studies were still of primary importance. They thus became familiar with the Greco-Roman mythology and literature as well as with the neoclassical versions of *Oedipus* by Corneille, Dryden, and Voltaire, while they acquainted themselves with the newly developed theories on tragedy. In addition, the new theories of the meaning of the myths[169] and their relation to history became an important source for symbolism in literature; the tendency to integrate imaginary beings for symbolic purposes was also taken over in drama, and became the characteristic of the French and German re-interpretations of the Sphinx in the Oedipus myth. The best examples of the integration of the mythological aspect of the Sphinx with the Oedipus story are Péladan's *Œdipe et le Sphinx*[170] and Hugo von Hofmannsthal's

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[168] See Herbert Hunger, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Wien: Hollinek, 1969).

[169] Bachofen and Frazer were two of the most prominent figures in the study of mythology in the late nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth.

[170] Josephin Péladan, *Œdipe et le Sphinx*, Tragédie selon Sophocle. Pour servir de prologue à L'Œdipe Roi. Théâtre de la Rose+Croix VI (Beauvais: Imprimerie professionnelle, 1897), and *Œdipe et le*

Ödipus und die Sphinx.[171] Like these creative writers, classical scholars and translators of *Oedipus the King* such as Gilbert Murray, did not remain indifferent to the new theories on the importance of myth.

But these theories of myth (*μῦθος: mythos*) are related to philosophy, which played a crucial role in the revival of Greek tragedy during that period, especially through the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), whose works and philosophical concepts had a great impact on many writers in and outside Germany in the two decades before and after 1900. Nietzsche's *Die Geburt der Tragödie* (*The Birth of Tragedy*)[172] and his concept of *Übermensch* (*overman*)[173] were so influential that they can be considered the springboard for both the revival of Greek tragedy and the shift of paradigm in literary criticism, that is, the shift away from the Aristotelian notion of plot (*μῦθος: mythos*) and action (*δρᾶσις: drasis*) to myth (*μῦθος: mythos*) and the character of Oedipus lurking in Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*.[174]

In the European context , and to a somewhat lesser degree in the North American, four distinctive attitudes toward *Oedipus the King* can be discerned during that period. First, there were many classical philologists mainly in England, the U.S.A. and Germany who translated *Oedipus* in prose aiming primarily at a scientific reconstruction of the past. Second, some others, fascinated by the contemporary theories on Greek tragedy and the structure of Greek theatre, translated *Oedipus* in verse to make this tragedy more accessible to the average non-Greek public. Third, there was a more subjective attitude that can also be perceived as a truly original approach to the myth and the character of Oedipus. That tendency appeared primarily in France and Germany, and was expressed in the form of versions whose action went beyond that of the Sophoclean *Oedipus*. Among the earliest examples are Péladan's *Œdipe et le Sphinx* (1897 and 1903) and Hugo von Hofmannsthal's *Ödipus und die Sphinx* (1906). Fourth, there were creative writers who,

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Sphinx, Tragédie en trois actes. Texte conforme à la représentation du 1er août 1903 au théâtre antique d' Orange. Quatrième édition (Paris: Société du Mercure de France, 1903).

[171] Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Ödipus und die Sphinx* (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1906). Four years later, following the story-line of the Sophoclean *Oedipus*, Hofmannsthal wrote *König Ödipus von Sophocles* (Berlin: S. Fishcer Verlag, 1910) that became a world success when produced by Max Reinhardt. This production will be mentioned in 3.2.1. of this chapter.

[172] Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie. Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. Karl Schlechta, vol. 1 (München: Carl Hanser, 1954) 21-134; or *The Birth of Tragedy. The Birth of Tragedy and The Genealogy of Morals*, trans. Francis Golffing [Doubleday Anchor Books] (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956) 1-146. Henceforth this book will be mentioned as Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie*.

[173] In this dissertation I follow Walter Kaufmann who uses *overman* for *Übermensch* instead of the term *superman*, coined by G. B. Shaw. See Walter Kaufmann, "Overman and Eternal Recurrence," *Nietzsche: Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1968) 307-33.

[174] For a brief discussion of this issue see section 1 of this chapter.

following the story-line of *Oedipus*, translated it in prose and verse primarily for stage performance. One of the earliest and best examples in the English-speaking world is W.B. Yeats's *Sophocles' King Oedipus* (1926/1928).

In the following sections, we shall concentrate only on the British and North American target systems (TSs). Compared to their French and German counterparts, these systems surprise us first with their proliferation of prose and verse translations and their performances of *Oedipus the King* by both students of classics and professional performers, and, second, with the absence of any radical re-interpretations of the myth, the character or the life of Oedipus. One possible explanation for this difference might be an interrelation of two collateral dynamics. The strong influence of philology and the lack of a strong neoclassical tradition seem to have helped the translations of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus the King* to be more in the centre than on the periphery of the English market.[175] This abundance of translations, which were made primarily by classical scholars, can be attributed to may different factors. The ongoing English public interest in Greece itself,[176] the very significant archaeological finds, the two conflicting German theories of the structure of Greek theatre, Nietzsche's theories of Greek tragedy, and the emergence of philology as a science fuelled the interest of the English public in Greek tragedy as literature, and created a demand for more translations.

We shall also undertake the task of demonstrating how and to what degree discourses like philology, philosophy, and when applicable, politics played a role in the making of these English translations, and in the fostering of some radically new performances of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* in the early twentieth century.

3.1. *Oedipus the King* in English prose: A philological discourse in action

The first attitude, to translate *Oedipus the King* as prose, is prominently represented by two British classical scholars: Sir R.C. Jebb and J.T. Sheppard. The former rendered this work as *The Oedipus Tyrannus* in 1883;[177] the latter felt the need to make another version of this tragedy whose title was *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles*.[178] These scholars were, of course, not functioning in a vacuum, and translating classical Greek drama into prose was not a newly established tendency. Coming out of the Porsonian tradition of textual scholarship, [179] Jebb and Sheppard were only two among the many other classical scholars who rendered *Oedipus the King* into English prose with thorough annotations, footnotes and even appendices.[180] Nevertheless, we shall venture to present what distinguishes Jebb's and Sheppard's translations from the preponderance of other prose renderings of the same tragedy in the same period, and why their versions of *Oedipus* are so important for both the British and North American TSs.

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[175] The reversed situation held true for the French TS during the same period. The impact of Corneille and Voltaire's *Œdipe* on the French theatrical audience and readership was tremendous, if we consider that Corneille's *Œdipe* was performed at the Comédie Française ninety-four times between 1681 and 1729 and Voltaire's three hundred and thirty-six times between 1718 and 1852, while both these versions of *Oedipus* were published. See: (1) A. Joannidès, *La Comédie-Française de 1680 à 1900* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1901) xii-xiii and xviii-xix respectively; and (2) Ekaterini Nikolarea, "*Oedipus the King*: A Greek Tragedy, Philosophy, Politics and Philology," *TTR* VII.1 (1994) 234-59.

[176] For this issue see Finley M.K. Foster's Introduction, *English Translations from the Greek: A Bibliographical Survey* (New York: AMS P, 1966) xiii-xxix. This book is an interesting study of the different factors that influenced the opening of the English market to the translations of Greek literature.

[177] See Sir R.C. Jebb, *The Oedipus Tyrannus. Sophocles: The Plays and Fragments*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1883).

As noted earlier, Jebb had his first edition of *The Oedipus Tyrannus* published in 1883 by the prestigious Cambridge University Press. It was, however, the second edition of *The Oedipus Tyrannus* in 1887[181] and its subsequent editions and reprints that became really popular on both sides of the Atlantic. The significance of that edition of *The Oedipus Tyrannus* lay in what Jebb himself emphasized in his Preface to the second edition: (1) the use of English instead of Latin as the language of the critical notes on the text; (2) the establishment of a revised Greek text, which came out of his careful reading and textual criticism of the Autotype Fascimile of the Laurentian manuscript itself;[182] and (3) the acknowledgement of the constructive criticism made by German and British scholars, such as Wecklein, Keibel, Meisterhans, Tyrrell, Sidwick and Whitelaw (Jebb vii-viii).

But this was not all. In the Introduction to that edition, for the first time perhaps, the English public had the chance to read an overview, rich in detail, about the history of the Oedipus myth, its treatment by Sophocles, and an Aristotelian analysis of the plot and the character (Jebb xi-xxx). In the same Introduction, Jebb also gave the English public philological and archaeological evidence for the theatrical performance of this play in the fifth century B.C.E. and a thoroughly comparative and contrastive analysis between this tragedy by Sophocles and its counterparts by Seneca (*Oedipus*), Corneille (*Œdipe*), Dryden and Lee (*Oedipus*), and Voltaire (*Œdipe*) (Jebb xxx-xlviii). Another important and astonishing element is that Jebb took great pains to give an account of how his contemporaries received *The Oedipus Tyrannus* when it was performed, first, in Greek, by members of Harvard University in 1881[183] and, second, in French, by M. Mounet-Sully at the Théâtre Français in the same year (1881) (Jebb xlviii-li). It was for the first time, perhaps, that classical scholars, students of Classics and an average readership had access not only to a translation of *Oedipus the King* but also, in one place, to an accurate documentation about the existing manuscripts and to a thorough metrical analysis of the lyric parts of this Greek tragedy (Jebb lii-xcv).

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[178] See J.T. Sheppard, *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1920).

[179] Maintaining Bentley's textual scholarship, Richard Porson (1759-1808) did textual work of high quality, mostly on the Attic drama. For a discussion of his life and contribution to classical scholarship, see M.L. Clarke, *Richard Porson: A Biographical Essay* (1937; Folcroft Library Editions, 1973).

[180] To name a few: (1) T.W.C. Edwards, *Oedipus Tyrannus* (1823); (2) Benjamin Hall Kennedy, *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* (1882); and (3) Edward P. Coleridge, *Oedipus the King. The Tragedies of Sophocles* [Bohn's Classical Library] (1893). For bibliographical references see section C.3. of the Selected Bibliography which is appended to this dissertation.

[181] Sir R.C. Jebb, *The Oedipus Tyrannus. Sophocles: The Plays and Fragments*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1893); hereafter it will be cited as Jebb.

[182] [Sophocles] *Fascimile of the Laurentian Manuscript of Sophocles*, with an Introduction by E.M. Thompson and R.C. Jebb (London: Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 1885).

Nevertheless, Sheppard, the other classical scholar under discussion, felt the need to translate and explain Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* once again as *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* in 1920.[184] Why did Sheppard believe that a new translation of *Oedipus* was necessary and why was the same need felt by Cambridge University Press, a conservative publishing house which was continuing to reprint Jebb's translation? In other words, what prompted the demand for a new translation? The answer, or at least a partial answer, comes from Sheppard's Preface to his translation (Sheppard ix-xiv). As he himself put it, his work was a response to Professor Murray's translation of *Oedipus, King of Thebes* which had been produced as *Oedipus Rex* by the famous German stage producer Max Reinhardt at Covent Garden in 1911.[185] Repelled by such a "lavish, barbaric [and] turbulent" production as that produced by Reinhardt,[186] and by a translation as "highly charged with metaphor, and very often vague," as that made by Murray, Sheppard ventured to give his reader "a faithful version" to enable him "to see by what sort of method Sophocles succeeded" (Sheppard x). He further stated that, although his translation did not have the poetic qualities that Professor Murray's translation did, he hoped that his version, if read in the light of his commentary, would help the reader "see more clearly the qualities of Sophocles" (Sheppard x).

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[183] Jebb did not confine himself to discussing the Greek performance at Harvard University in his Introduction (Jebb xlviii - xlix); he devotes his Appendix (Jebb 201-34) to a thorough discussion of and annotations to the Greek text presented at Harvard University in 1881. For the Greek text presented at Harvard in 1881, see Lewis Campbell: (1) *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles*. Harvard University. Sanders Theatre, May 17, 19 and 20 1881. The Greek Department [Cambridge 1881] ... The Greek text is that of the edition of Professor John William White ... The translation is that of Professor Lewis Campbell (Boston: Mr. Edwin Ginn & Mr. D.C. Heath, 1881); and (2) *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles*. Presented by the Classical Dept. of Darmouth College in Hanover, NH, in 1910. This edition of *The Oedipus Tyrannus* is a reprint of that used in the presentation of the play at Harvard University in 1881. [The Greek text is that of the edition of professor John William White ... The translation is that of Professor Lewis Campbell] (Boston: Ginn, 1910).

[184] J.T. Sheppard, *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1920); henceforth it will be referred to as Sheppard.

[185] The importance of that translation and production will be discussed in the section 3.2.1. of this chapter.

[186] Sheppard ix.

He also claimed that the accuracy of his interpretation "depends, of course, upon many minute points of *textual criticism* and *grammar*" (Sheppard xi; emphasis added). To support his position, he used all the evidence available to him in Jebb's text, which, nevertheless, he put to linguistic scrutiny (Sheppard xi).[187] Finally, he hoped that, through his linguistic approach to this drama, he would be able to prove that Sophocles "[c]reated in the *Oedipus* a poem, whose meaning is not disputable and a drama in which every part contributes to the tragic beauty of the whole" (Sheppard xi).

The common characteristic of the translations made by both Jebb and Sheppard is that they were designed primarily for English-speaking scholars and students of classics with sufficient knowledge of Greek to read the original, compare it with the juxtaposed translation in prose, and benefit from the critical notes and commentaries. The original theatrical text was treated as if it were a philological document, and, therefore, the primary function of these translations was to be faithful to, and to elucidate, the source text (ST).[188] Both are literal, painstaking and meticulous translations, in which the order of the Greek clauses and the smallest particles are carefully reproduced. The translators' preface or introduction, translation, commentaries and appendices reveal the spirit of their period for us. Many factors such as important archaeological excavations, the development of philology as a science, and modes of literary criticism, had combined to encourage Jebb and Sheppard, among other classical scholars, to approach a theatre text such as *Oedipus the King* as a literary text. The result was a scholarly approach demanding a strict scientific (philological or linguistic) analysis and presentation of their material.

3.1.1. Importance of Jebb's *The Oedipus Tyrannus*

Although Sheppard's translation has been often used by scholars and students of classics, it is Jebb's translation, *The Oedipus Tyrannus*, which occupies a special position in the two differentiated but interacting British and North American TSs. There are two reasons for this. First, and in contrast with the contemporary assumption that a literal

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[187] In this context, Sheppard also refers to the original Greek text as established by Jebb in the1887 edition.

[188] This kind of translation corresponds to Susan Bassnett's first translation strategy, that is, Treating the theatre text as a literary work (author's emphasis). See Susan Bassnett, "Ways Through the Labyrinth: Strategies and Methods for Translating Theatre Texts," *The Manipulation of Literature*, ed. Theo Hermans (London: Croom Helm & New York: St Martin's P, 1985) 90.

(prose) translation cannot be performed, Jebb's prose translation was indeed performed at Cambridge in 1887 and in 1912. It should, however, be emphasized that in both those performances, his prose translation was used only for the dialogues, whereas A.W. Verrall's verse translation was used for the choral odes or stasima. The latter's verse translation was combined with the incidental music written by C. Villiers Stanford.[189] Furthermore, if contextualized within the official British disposition towards this particular Sophoclean tragedy,[190] these performances of Jebb's *The Oedipus Tyrannus* in Cambridge are of great importance for the British theatre, because they make clear that Oedipus could be performed on the British stage only when it was performed in any other city than London, and when the performances were under the auspices and authority of traditional departments of classics, like that at Cambridge University.

Another extraordinary aspect of the importance of this translation is that it dominated the British and North American reading markets for almost a century. The appearance of this text in many World Drama anthologies is one of the strongest indicators of the predominance and the impact of the philological discourse upon the English-speaking world for almost a century. To show how strong the influence of philology, and especially Jebb's philological translation was upon the British and North American TSs not only in the late nineteenth century but also during the twentieth century, we shall give only a few examples. As early as in 1916 Brander Matthews chose Jebb's translation of *Oedipus* for his collection of the most important European plays, *The Chief European Dramatists*.[191] Matthews decided to edit this collection as a response "to a wider and more intelligent interest in dramatic literature, and in the drama as an art," and to "a constantly increasing attention to the drama of the past" (Matthews ix). It is, however, worth noting that in the same collection that Matthews, although he seemed aware of other translators who had translated *Oedipus*,[192] preferred Jebb's translation to those by Morshead or Murray. What we can infer from this preference is that, although sometimes editors of anthologies are restricted by copyright holders in their selecting various translation of foreign literature and drama, Matthews[193] does not seem to have been hindered by copyright restrictions. Nevertheless, in that collection Matthews made two important editorial changes in Jebb's text. First, he changed the title from *The Oedipus Tyrannus* into *Oedipus the King*; and, second, he omitted the original Greek text, introduction and commentaries, while keeping Jebb's translation as it appeared in the 1887 edition.

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[189] See the following publications: (1) Sir R.C. Jebb, *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles*, as arranged for performance at Cambridge, 1887. (I) The text in Greek and English. (II) The incidental music written by C. Villiers Stanford. Cambridge, Macmillan, 1887.--"The Greek text and the English prose translation ... from Professor's Jebb's second edition of the play ... The translation of the choruses into English verse ... by A.W. Verrall" (Cambridge: Macmillan & Bowes, 1887); and (2) Sir R.C. Jebb, *Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* as performed at Cambridge, November 22-26, 1887, November 26-30, 1912. With a translation in prose by the late Sir R.C. Jebb ... and a translation of the songs in verse ... by the late A.W. Verrall (Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1912).

[190] The banishment of *Oedipus* from the British stage will be discussed in section 3.2.1. of this chapter.

[191] Sir R.C. Jebb, "Oedipus the King," *The Chief Eruopean Dramatists*, ed. Brander Matthews (Boston, New York, Chicago: Houghton Mifflin & Cambridge: The Riverside P, 1916) 31-53; hereafter it will be cited as Matthews.

[192] In the same collection Matthews chose E.D.A. Morshead's translation of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Gilbert Murray's translation of Euripides' *Medea*. We should keep in mind that both E.D.A. Morshead and Murray had translated *Oedipus* in verse; the former had translated *Oedipus* as *Oedipus*

Much later, the same translation was chosen as the "standard version" of *Oedipus the King* in other anthologies of Greek literature. In 1938 Whitney J. Oates and Eugene O'Neill chose Jebb's translation for their parallel publication of *The Complete Greek Drama* [194] and *Seven Famous Greek Plays*,[195] because they thought that it was "the best available translation" (Oates and O'Neil vii) and it fulfilled their own criteria for selecting a particular version: first, to provide the "essential correspondence to the Greek original considered as a whole," and, second, to show "close fidelity ... to the original in specific detail" (Oates and O'Neil vii). It was along those lines that in 1944 Whitney J. Oates and Charles Th. Murphy chose Jebb's translation of *Oedipus* for their *Greek Literature in Translation*.[196] They considered it one of "the standard modern versions" and favoured it above other translations because it "seemed most readily comprehensible without sacrificing too much of the spirit of the original[s]" (Oates and Murphy vi).

Moreover, Sophocles' tragedies, *Oedipus the King*, *Oedipus at Colonus*, *Antigone*, *Ajax*, *Electra*, *Trachiniae* and *Philoctetes*, became once again accessible to a wide English reading public through Jebb's translations, when the Encyclopaedia Britannica made use of his versions of these tragedies in the *Great Books of the Western World* in 1952.[197] Even theatre people like Blanche Yurka employed Jebb's rendering of *Oedipus*

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the King (London: Macmillan, 1885), and the latter as *Oedipus, King of Thebes* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1911).

[193] This is also applicable to all editors of anthologies that we shall encounter not only in this section but also in other sections and chapters of this dissertation.

[194] Sir R.C. Jebb, "Oedipus the King," *The Complete Greek Drama*, eds. W.J. Oates and Eugene O'Neil, vol. 1, (New York: Random House, 1938) 363-418; henceforth it will be cited as Oates and O'Neil.

[195] Sir R.C. Jebb, "Oedipus the King," *Seven Famous Plays*, eds. W.J. Oates and Eugene O'Neil, (New York: Vintage Books [A Division of Random House] 1950) 117-82.

[196] Sir R.C. Jebb, "Oedipus the King," *Greek Literature in Translation*, eds. W.J. Oates and Charles Th. Murphy (New York: Longmans, Green, 1944) 241-72; hereafter it will be referred to as Oates and Murphy.

[197] Sir R.C. Jebb, "Oedipus the King," *Great Books of the Western World*, ed., Robert M. Hutchins, vol. 5, (Chicago, London & Toronto: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952) 99-113.

Tyrannus to show Sophocles' significance for World Theatre to a wide theatre audience.[198]

In all of these editions, editors followed most of the steps that Matthews had already taken in his 1916 edition of *The Chief European Dramatists*. First, they changed the title from *The Oedipus Tyrannus* into either "Oedipus the King" or, in Yurka's case, "Oedipus Rex." Second, they kept Jebb's translation of *Oedipus* unchanged but they omitted the original Greek text, the translator's introduction, commentaries and appendix. The main reason for these omissions seems to have been that the anthologies were aiming at a wide reading public, which, although it did not have a background in Greek studies, was still eager to learn more about Greek tragedy in general, and Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* in particular. The abundance of such anthologies also signifies that during the twentieth century period there was a great demand for translations of Greek tragedies which grew almost in direct ratio with the decline of the study of the classical Greek language and the reading of the classical Greek literature in the original.

Third, all the editors, although they chose translations by other translators who had also translated *Oedipus* for other Greek dramas in their anthologies, preferred Jebb's translation of *Oedipus*. One possible explanation for that consistent preference for Jebb's *The Oedipus Tyrannus* may be that Jebb, although he died in 1905, was still considered an authority on Sophocles because of his famous 1887 Sophocles edition. Moreover, it was the same translation of *Oedipus the King* that was praised as "the most carefully wrought prose version of Sophocles in English"[199] even during the second half of the twentieth century; nevertheless, it was offered to a contemporary public only after it had been modernized.[200]

An additional function of this translation, which is the least mentioned in--if not totally ignored by--classical studies, but which is of great importance for translation studies and theatre/drama studies, is that Jebb's translation of *Oedipus* has become an intertext (an intermediary) for new versions of *Oedipus the King*. Two well-known examples of this intralingual intertextuality are W.B. Yeats's *Sophocles' King Oedipus* (1928) and Stephen Spender's *King Oedipus* (1985). By intralingual intertextuality is meant the presence of intertextuality between two or more texts written in the same language. In this context, this kind of intertextuality refers to Yeats's and Spender's indebtedness to Jebb which is evident in their versions of *Oedipus*. Although Yeats's version will be discussed in the section 3.3. of this chapter, it is enough to say here that Yeats used Jebb's translation as his primary source to make his version of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus for stage performance.[201] Also, in his book *The Oedipus Trilogy*, the playwright Stephen Spender acknowledges Jebb's contribution to his own version of *King Oedipus*.[202] As he himself puts it, Jebb's *The Oedipus Tyrannus* helped him to elucidate aspects of the Greek text when his knowledge of Greek failed him, and, to prepare his own version of *King Oedipus* (Spender 11). Even today, Jebb's translation, with its elaborate apparatus, is still an indispensable and invaluable "fountain" of information for scholars, students, and literary and stage translators.

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[198] Sir R.C. Jebb, "Oedipus Rex," *Three Classic Greek Plays*, ed. Blanche Yurka (New York: Washington Square P, 1964) 127-83.

[199] Sir R.C. Jebb, "Oedipus the King," *The Complete Plays of Sophocles*, ed. Moses Hadas (1967; New York & Toronto: Bantam Books, 1971) xvi.

[200] See: (1) Sir R.C. Jebb, "Oedipus the King," *The Complete Plays of Sophocles*, ed. Moses Hadas (1967; New York, Toronto: Bantam Books, 1971) 77-114; and (2) Sir R.C. Jebb, "Oedipus the King," *Oedipus: Myth and Drama*, eds. Martin Kallich, Andrew MacLeish, Gertrude Schoenbohm (New York: The Odyssey P, 1968) 3-46.

3.2. *Oedipus the King* in English verse: Philology, philosophy and theatrical performances

The second method was to translate *Oedipus the King* as verse. Although translators such as Lewis Campbell (1874/1896/1906), Sir George Young (1888/1906), Gilbert Murray (1911), and Francis Storr (1912) were classical philologists, they treated this playtext as poetry in order either to make classical Greek literature and tragedy more accessible to the average non-Greek readership, or to bring out some new points in a much-discussed tragedy like *Oedipus*. It is beyond any doubt that these translators also came out of a long-established tradition of perceiving and translating Greek tragedy in general, and *Oedipus the King* in particular, as poetry.[203] From the introductions and prefaces to their translations, it is obvious that Campbell, Young, Murray and Storr knew one another's work. They had a very long-established friendship not only with one another and with other translators who had rendered *Oedipus* into English verse, but also with some of the translators who had preferred to express *Oedipus* in prose.

The primary intention of translators like Campbell, Young, Murray and Storr to translate *Oedipus* faithfully but for a wider and more general readership is clearly stated in their respective introductions. In the revised edition of his version *King Oedipus* of 1906, Campbell claims that he did not translate *Oedipus* "to satisfy fastidious scholars, but to make classics partially accessible to those whose acquaintance with them would otherwise be still more defective."[204] Furthermore, in the 1906 edition of his *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Young hoped "that at worst his version may be found more readable, while not less faithful to the original, than any other."[205] Faithfulness and intelligibility of the translation without a knowledge of the original were also Storr's aim when he had his translation *Oedipus the King* published in 1912.[206] In their introductions, two of these scholars also explained why they preferred to translate this Sophoclean tragedy into poetry. Whereas Campbell felt that blank verse is more natural for and effective with an English readership, [207] Young stated that he translated this tragedy into poetry because "[p]oetry should always be rendered by poetry."[208]

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[201] W.B. Yeats, *Sophocles'* King Oedipus*: A Version for the Moder . Stage* (London: Macmillan, 1928).

[202] Stephen Spender, *King Oedipus. The Oedipus Trilogy* (London & Boston: Faber & Faber, 1985) 27-90. The intralingual intertextuality appearing in Spender's *King Oedipus* will be discussed in section 2.2.2.1., Chapter V of this thesis.

[203] To name a few: (1) E.H. Plumptre, *Oedipus the King. The Tragedies of Sophocles* (1880); (2) William Wells Newell, *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* (1881); (3) Robert Whitelaw, *Oedipus the King. Sophocles* (1883); (4) E.D.A. Morshead, *Oedipus the King* (1885); (5) John Swinnerton Phillimore, *Oedipus Tyrannus. Sophocles* (1902); and (6) Arthur S. Way, *Oedipus the King. Sophocles in English Verse* (1909). All these translators were well-known British philologists who preferred to translate Greek tragedies into verse rather than into prose. For bibliographical references see section C.3. of the Selected Bibliography appended to this study.

In contrast to Campbell, Young and Storr, who addressed their translations to an average non-Greek reader, Murray addressed at least the published form of his translation of *Oedipus* to "every diligent student of these great works," and his primary intention was to be "able to bring out a few new points in the old and much-studied *Oedipus*, chiefly points connected with the dramatic technique and the religious atmosphere."[209]

As noted earlier, the translations of *Oedipus the King* in English verse were made for, and addressed to, an average English public. Yet, it is worth mentioning that Cambell, Young and Storr became popular only when their translations were published and distributed in new and relatively cheap forms of publication, namely, the World's Classics, Everyman's Library and Loeb Classical Library respectively.

For example, Campbell had always been an authority on Sophocles; his 1874 translation of *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* appeared as a help for those who needed it in two different performances of *Oedipus* in Greek: first, at Harvard University in 1881, and second, at Darmouth College in Hanover, New Hamshire, in 1910.[210] His name became well-known to a wide average readership without any knowledge of Greek only in 1906 when a slightly changed translation from that of 1874 appeared on the British market, published under the title *King Oedipus* in "The World's Classics."[211] In the same year (1906) a revised version of the 1888 edition of *Oedipus Tyrannus* made by Young appeared in a parallel publication in England and the U.S.A. in the popular "Everyman's Library."[212] A particular case is Storr's translation of *Oedipus*, with the English title *Oedipus the King*, which at first appeared in the "Loeb Classical Library" and was praised in both the U.K. and the U.S.A. in 1912.[213] Perhaps some additional reasons for the popularity of these translators and their translations of *Oedipus the King* into English verse[214] were first that almost all these publications had only the English translation of *Oedipus*;[215] second, that the endnotes or footnotes were kept to a minimum;[216] third, that the translators were not involved in long and complex philological discussions; and, last but not least, that most of these translations were published in relatively cheap editions, thus making *Oedipus* and other Greek tragedies not only accessible in the English language but also affordable to the average reader and student.

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[204] Lewis Campbell, Prefatory Note to the Edition of 1883, *King Oedipus. Sophocles: The Seven Plays in English Verse* [World's Classics; no 116] (Oxford: Oxford UP & London: Humphrey Milford, 1906) xxvi.

[205] Sir George Young, Introduction, *Oedipus Tyrannus. Dramas: Sophocles* [Everyman's Library; no 114 Classical] (London: J.M. Dent & New York: E.P. Dutton, 1906) xii.

[206] Francis Storr, Introduction, *Oedipus the King. Sophocles*, vol. 1, [Loeb Classical Library. Greek Authors] (London: William Heinemann & New York: The Macmillan, 1912) xii.

[207] Lewis Campbell, Prefatory Note to the Edition of 1883, *King Oedipus. Sophocles: The Seven Plays in English Verse* [World's Classics; no 116] (Oxford: Oxford UP & London: Humphrey Milford, 1906) xxvii.

[208] Sir George Young, (1) Preface, *The Dramas of Sophocles* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & London: George Bell, 1888) xxii; and (2) Introduction, *Oedipus Tyrannus. Dramas: Sophocles* [Everyman's Library; no 114 Classical] (London: J.M. Dent & New York: E.P. Dutton, 1906) xvi.

[209] Gilbert Murray, Preface, *Sophocles: Oedipus, King of Thebes* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1911) v. The impact of Murray's translation upon a wide British theatre audience will be discussed in section 3.2.1. of this chapter in more detail.

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[210] See: (1) Lewis Campbell, Note, *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* (Boston: M. Edwin Ginn & Mr D.C. Heath, 1881) (no page); and (2) Lewis Campbell, Note, *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* (Messrs. Ginn, 1910) (no page).

[211] Lewis Campbell, *King Oedipus. Sophocles: The Seven Plays in English Verse* (Oxford: UP & London: Humphrey Milford, 1906) 83-128.

[212] Sir George Young, *Oedipus Tyrannus. The Dramas of Sophocles* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & London: George Bell,1888) 19-269; and *Oedipus Tyrannus. Dramas: Sophocles* [Everyman's Library; no 114] (London: J.M. Dent & New York: E.P. Dutton, 1906) 128-73.

[213] Francis Storr, *Oedipus the King. Sophocles* [Loeb Classical Library. Greek Authors] (London: William Heinemann & New York: The Macmillan, 1912)1-139. It is worth noting that all subsequent reprints of this translation were made by William Heinemann in London and by Harvard University Press in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

[214] The published form of Murray's translation of *Oedipus, King of Thebes* can also be included in this category.

[215] Campbell, Young and Murray; Storr is an exception. Although he addressed his translation to a general readeship, he kept the Greek original text with the verse translation made by him on the opposite page, which corresponds to the standard practice of the Loeb Collection. See Francis Storr, *Oedipus the King. Sophocles* [Loeb Classical Library. Greek Authors] (London: William Heinemann & New York: The Macmillan, 1912)1-139.

[216] It was Campbell, Young and Murray who used endnotes and Storr footnotes.

3.2.1. Gilbert Murray's *Oedipus, King of Thebes* and Max Reinhardt's *Oedipus Rex*: Politics, philology and philosophy in an English translation and its theatrical production

Although Campbell's, Young's and Storr's translations became popular in both British and North American TSs after they had been published in different variations of the "classical libraries," it is Murray's translation, *Oedipus, King of Thebes*,[217] that occupies a special position in the British TS, because of its use in the Reinhardt production of *Oedipus Rex* at Covent Garden on 15 January 1912. To understand the significance of Murray's *Oedipus, King of Thebes* for Great Britain we should consider the existence of two different and conflicting dynamics within the British TS at the turn of the century, namely the emergence of the Greek theatre movement and the banishment of *Oedipus Rex* from the British stage.

On the one hand, the Greek theatre movement in England began in the 1880s with the rediscovery of Greek theatre architecture[218] and was further developed by the early work of people such as E.W. Godwin, Gordon Craig, William Poel, Sybil Thorndike, Granville Barker and Gilbert Murray. From 1880 to 1914, a group of architects, stage designers, actors, producers and classical scholars were concerned primarily with a revival of Greek drama based on new archaeological theories of the classical theatre, and used different means to have proscenium stages converted to resemble Greek theatres. For example, whereas Godwin incorporated the new archaeological theories of classical Greek theatre in his stage set for *Helen of Troy*, at Henglers Circus, London in 1886,[219] Craig used a system of folding screens to alter the perception of the proscenium stage at the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, and so to improve the stage scenery.[220] That group of people also developed a method of production along the lines suggested by theories of the ritual origin of drama advocated by Jane Ellen Harrison.[221]

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[217] Gilbert Murray, *Oedipus, King of Thebes* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1911).

[218] Peter Arnott notes that the German archaeological discoveries of Höpken and Dörpfeld in the 1880s and 1890s altered the concept of classical Greek theatre; see Arnott, *Greek Scenic Conventions in the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1962) 3.

[219] See Karen Dorn, *Players and Painted Stage: The Theatre of W.B. Yeats* (Sussex: The Harvester P & New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1984) Plate 22 between the pages 82 and 83.

[220] See Karen Dorn, *Players and Painted Stage: The Theatre of W.B. Yeats* (Sussex: The Harvester P & New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1984) 64.

[221] In her *Ancient Art and Ritual*, rev. 2nd ed. (New York: Henry Holt & London: Williams & Norgate, 1918), Harrison strongly supports the theory that ritual preceded myth, a theory which was first proposed by William Robertson Smith. She was acclaimed as the inspired theorist of the early Greek theatre movement, and was one of the members of the Cambridge School of Classical Anthropology. Murray and Francis Cornford were among the other members of that group of scholars. For more information about the interaction between Harrison, Murray and other classicists see Sandra J. Peacock, *Jane Ellen Harrison: The Mask and the Self* (New Haven & London: Yale UP, 1988), and J.G. Steward, *Jane Ellen Harrison: A Portrait from Letters* (London: The Merlin P, 1959).

On the other hand, Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* was banned from the British stage for many years. The frustration of many actors, dramatists and theatre people can be seen in Sir Herbert Tree's case and in Henry Arthur Jones's protest. The former, desiring to produce this Sophoclean tragedy at His Majesty's Theatre, was prevented by the Censor on the basis that "the licence had been refused before, and that it was no use submitting the play again."[222] The latter, attacking the official shortsightedness, states sardonically: "[n]ow, of course, if any considerable body of Englishmen are arranging to marry their mothers, whether by accident or design, it must be stopped at once. But it is not a frequent occurrence in any class of English society. Throughout the course of my life I have not met more than six men who were anxious to do it" (Fowell and Palmer 275, footnote 1). Such a statement clearly indicates that the main reason for the refusal of any production of *Oedipus the King* must have been the incestuous relationship of Oedipus and Jocasta.

In spite of the official resistance to the staging *Oedipus the King*, censorship was lifted in late 1911 and early 1912. As Fowel and Palmer report, "in time the Censor slowly followed public opinion, and the *Oedipus* was performed at Covent Garden in 1912 for twenty-six performances, with the most unstinted public approval" (Fowell and Palmer 275). Of course, these performances were none other than Reinhardt's production of *Oedipus Rex* in Murray's translation. That production opened in London on 15 January 1912 with Sir John Martin-Harvey as Oedipus, Lillah McCarthy as Jocasta and Franklin Dyall as the Messenger.[223] Both the translation of *Oedipus* by Murray and Reinhardt's production raised much controversy among contemporary English critics, philologists and playwrights.[224] Classical scholars like Sheppard accused Murray of taking a great number of liberties in his translation, and charged Reinhardt's production with being sensual and non-Greek. On the contrary, playwrights such as Yeats praised Reinhardt's work as "a most wonderful production" (Clark and McGuire, 33).

The translation by Murray and the theatrical performances produced by Reinhardt in the U.K. are of crucial importance to this study for various reasons, and to diverse but interrelated disciplines such as classics, translation studies, and theatre/drama studies. First, they indicate how a translation and a theatrical production became *topoi* of philological and philosophical discourses. Second, although Murray was a classical scholar, he not only dared to translate *Oedipus* in rhyming verse but also took many liberties to make this tragedy accessible to a wide English reading public. Indeed, the 1911 edition of his *Oedipus, King of Thebes* succeeded in doing that. When the same translation was used in the Reinhardt production, it made Sophocles' *Oedipus* accessible to a wide British theatrical audience too. In his reply to *The Times* (23 January 1912) concerning Reinhardt's production of *Oedipus Rex* in his translation, Murray claims:

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[222] Frank Fowel and Frank Palmer, *Censorshp in England* (New York & London: Benjamin Blom, 1969) 275; hereafter it will be cited as Fowell and Palmer.

[223] Jean Smith and Arnold Toynbee, eds., *Gilbert Murray: An Unfinished Autobiography* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960) 161; hereafter it will be referred to as Smith and Toynbee.

[224] For negative comments on Murray's translation and Max Reinhardt's production see J.T. Sheppard, Preface, *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1920) ix-x. The most important consequence of Sheppard's response was the appearance of his new philological translation of *Oedipus*; see 3.1. For the impact of Reinhardt's production on his contemporary British theatrical audience see also David R. Clark and James B. McGuire, *W.B.Yeats: The Writing of Sophocles'* King Oedipus (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1989) 32-33; henceforth it will be cited as Clark and McGuire.

> Vast audiences come to hear the *Oedipus*--audiences at any rate far greater than Mr. Granville Barker and I have ever gathered, except perhaps once; they sit enthralled for two hours of sheer tragedy, and I do not think many of them will forget the experience. (Smith and Toynbee 161)

In a letter postmarked 31 January 1912, W.B. Yeats also praised Reinhardt production in the following terms:

> I saw Oedipus last week--not well acted but a most wonderful production. I quite surrender--Reinhardt is a great man. He used sounds in the most emotional way--a gong, a single flute, inarticulate cries & expressed that horror of the people at the death of Jocasta by making people run in and out of the palace in an aimless way. It was the most imaginative production of a play I have ever seen. (Clark and McGuire, 33)

What becomes obvious from both Murray's and Yeats's statements is that Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* in this translation became accessible to a wide English theatrical audience only with Reinhardt's production.

Third, Max Reinhardt was the most famous, but also controversial, Austrian and German producer of the time. Having already produced Hugo von Hofmannsthal's *König Ödipus von Sophokles*[225] in Germany with great success, he ventured to produce *Oedipus Rex* in Murray's translation in London.[226] His 1912 London production was the most influential production of the Greek theatre movement, and it radically changed the relation between performers and spectators in Britain.

Reinhardt based his productions of *Oedipus Rex* on German theories of Greek theatre design which had been developed from two conflicting archaeological views. Had there been, as Vitruvius claimed, a large raised stage separating actors from chorus and spectators, or had there simply been a long step against the scene wall, with all performers using the orchestra space, distinguished only by costume and mask?[227] That archaeological controversy had affected changes in German theatre, and Richard Wagner was the first to apply these conflicting theories by having his theatre designed based on the presumed architecture of the Greek theatre.[229] In his view, the type of stage was crucial in determining the type of drama: "[t]he form of a Shakespeare play would be as unintelligible to us as that of a Greek play without our knowledge of the stage necessities which shaped both the one and the other. Neither, though both contain poetry which is supreme poetry, took its form from poetry; neither is intelligible as poetic form" (Symons 311). When Wagner's theatre at Bayreuth was completed, as seen in *Picture 4*, it soon became the model for the Greek movement. As Yeats wrote in 1901, "[w]ere our theatres of the shape of a half-closed fan, like Wagner's theatre, where the audience sit on seats that rise towards the broad end while the play is played at the narrow end, their pictures

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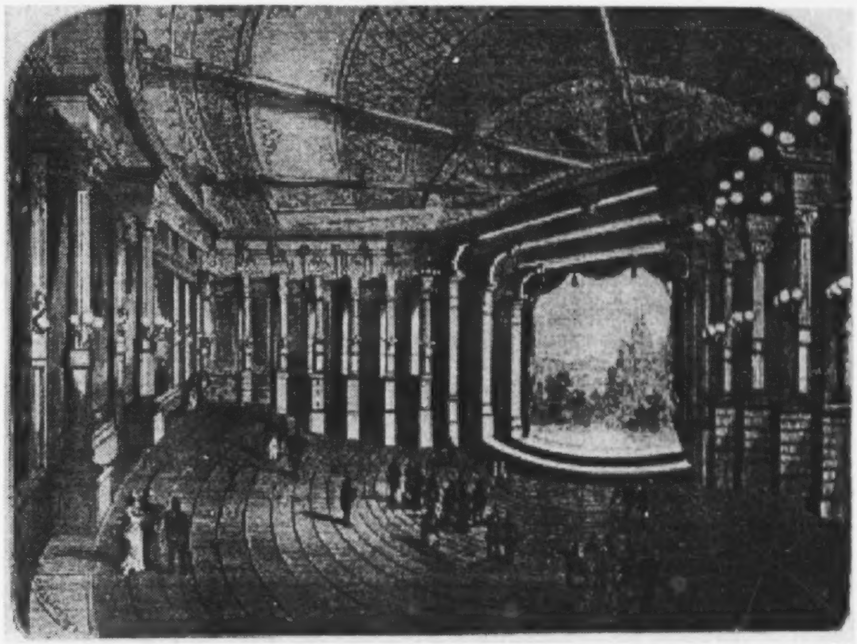
[225] Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *König Ödipus von Sophocles* (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1910).

[226] J.L. Styan states that Reinhardt's *Oedipus Rex* opened in the Festhalle in Munich in 1910, it went to Vienna in October 1910, to Budapest with Hungarian players in October 1910, in the Zirkus Schumann, Berlin, on 7 November 1910, in Covent Garden, London, with English players on 15 January 1912, to St. Petersburg, Moscow, Riga, Warsaw, Kiev, Odessa, and Stockholm, in winter 1912. See J.L. Styan, *Max Reinhardt* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982) 78-80. For a discussion of the world success of *Oedipus Rex* produced by Reinhardt see also *Max Reinhardt and His Theatre*, ed., Oliver M. Sayler (New York: Bretano's, 1924).



Picture 4. The interior of Bayreuth Festspielhaus before the seating had been installed.[228]

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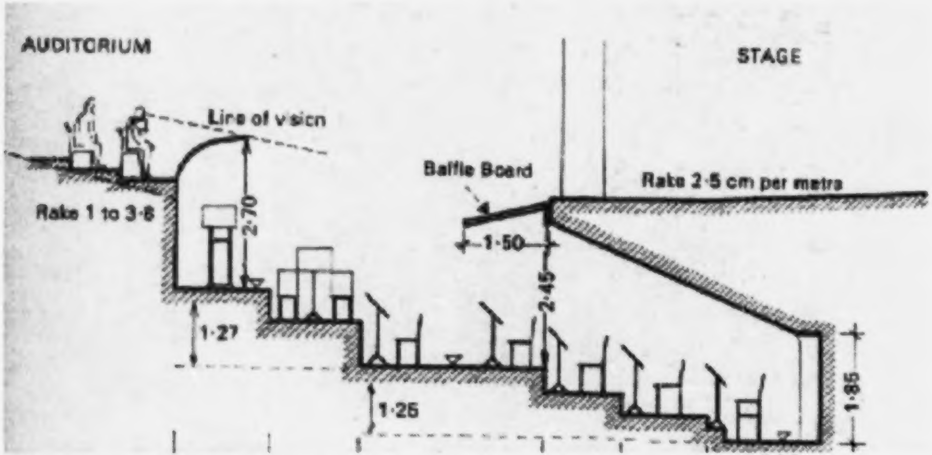
[227] Arnott, *Greek Scenic Conventions*, 3-4.

[228] Taken from Ronald Taylor, *Richard Wagner: His Life, Art and Thought* (London: Paul Elek, 1979) between pages 192 and 193.

[229] Arthur Symons, "The Ideas of Richard Wagner" (1907) rpt in Eric Bentley, ed., *The Theory of the Modern Stage: An Introduction to Modern Theatre and Drama* (Middlesex & Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968) 311; hereafter it will be cited as Symons.

could be composed for eyes at a small number of points of view, instead of for eyes at many points of view, above and below and at the sides, and what is no better than a trade might became an art."[230] A theatre in which spectators are united by a common vantage point was difficult to achieve in the older buildings, in which the stalls were separated from the stage by an orchestra pit. Wagner had called the pit a "mystic gulf," and he had designed the Bayreuth orchestra pit, as illustrated in *Picture 5*, to fit below the stage level so that the music--"the loam of endless universal feeling"--would complement rather than obscure the performance. "In the Greek play," he explained, "the chorus appeared in the orchestra, that is, in the midst of the audience, while the personages, masked and heightened, were seen in a ghostly illusion of grandeur on the stage."[231] But it was not until Max Reinhardt's production of *Oedipus Rex* at Covent Garden in 1912 that large audiences in London could see that type of stage performance.



Picture 5. Cross-section of the orchestra pit in the Festspielhaus.[232]

Reinhardt's productions of *Oedipus Rex* were highly influential or so controversial, depending on the critic's perspective, because it was for the first time that the Continental and the British theatrical audiences saw controversial archaelogical, philological and philosophical theories regarding Greek theatre and tragedy applied to specific productions. But in his staging of *Oedipus Rex* Reinhardt did something more: he altered the relation between performers and spectators in ways which were revolutionary for the time. To understand how Reinhardt's productions of *Oedipus Rex* changed the relation between the performers and spectators, we shall present some of the contemporary British criticism and compare some of the existing pictures from his productions of this Sophoclean tragedy in Germany and England.

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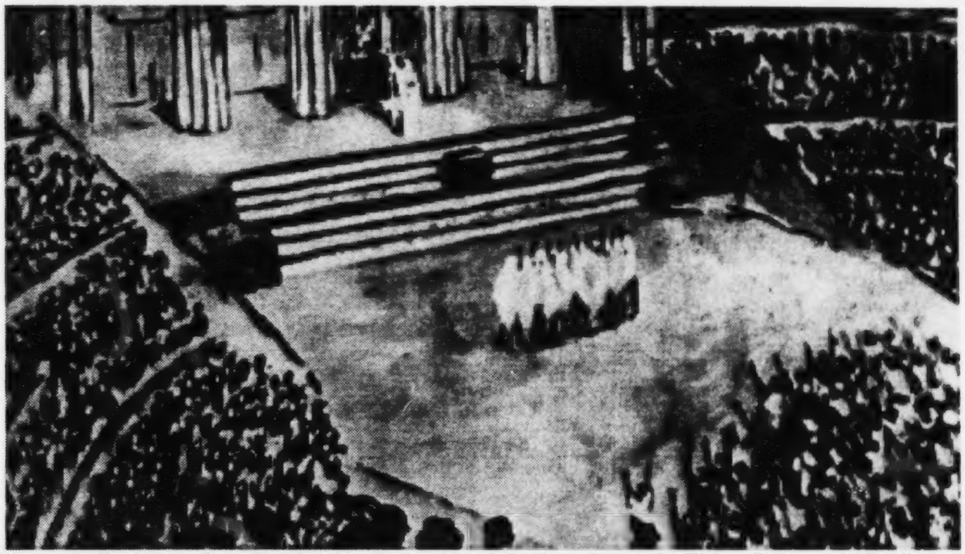
[230] W.B. Yeats, "At Stratford-on-Avon," *Essays and Introductions* (London: Macmillan, 1961) 99-100.

[231] Symons 307 and 311 respectively. The use of *kothornoi* (tall shoes) was Roman rather than Greek, but during Wagner's lifetime it was believed that *kothornoi* were used in the productions of Greek tragedy. For this issue see section 1.2.3.3., Chapter II of this dissertation.

[232] Taken from Ronald Taylor, *Richard Wagner: His Life, Art and Thought* (London: Paul Elek, 1979) between pages 192 and 193.

According to his contemporary British theatrical critics, Reinhardt had an extraordinary impact on the perception and reception of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus Rex* by the British audiences for various reasons. First, he let "[t]he actors [...] really move among the audience, there playing out their little drama in the midst of their fellow-men, just as the great drama is played every day of our life on earth."[233] We can comprehend better Carter's comment only if we have a close look at the following lithograph:



Picture 6. One scene from Reinhardt's production of *Oedipus Rex* at the Zirkus Schumann, Berlin, on 7 November 1910.[234]

The approaching chorus and the principal characters in the centre of the orchestra can move freely among the audience because the physical structure of the Zirkus Schumann in Berlin resembled more the structure of the Greek theatre than a proscenium stage theatre.

If we now wonder how Reinhardt's German production of *Oedipus Rex* in the Zirkus Schumann was transferred to the London production at Covent Garden in order to make such an impression on Carter and his contemporary British audience, we need to compare *Picture 7* to *Pictures 6* and *8*. In *Picture 7* we see Covent Garden as it was in the late eighteenth century, namely, its proscenium stage, its small orchestra pit, the stalls reaching as far as the proscenium stage and the audience in the boxes and the pit. In this picture, although it is actually a drawing, we can still recognize the sharp separation between the actors and the audience created by the raised stage. In contrast, in *Pictures 6* and *8* the proscenium stage has been modified drastically, as the proscenium stage and the orchestra pit are connected with long steps, thus allowing the actors and the chorus enough freedom to interact and move from the stage to the orchestra and vise versa. In the adaptation of the proscenium stage and the enlargement of the orchestra pit we can recognize the influence of the two German theories of Greek theatre design, which had been developed from two conflicting archaeological views. In other words, in his

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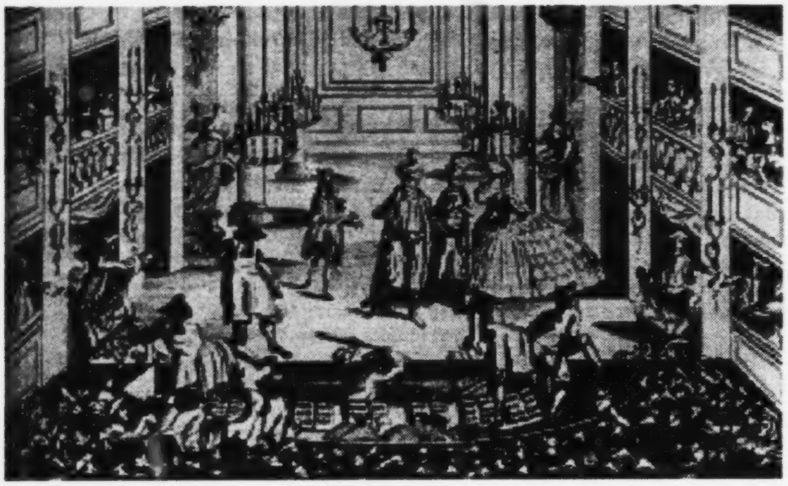
[233] Huntly Carter, *The Theatre of Max Reinhardt*, rpt (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1964) 210; henceforth it will be referred to as Carter.

[234] Taken from Karen Dorn, *Players and Painted Stage: The Theatre of W.B. Yeats* (Sussex: The Harvester P & New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1984) Plate 23 between the pages 82 and 83.



Picture 7. Covent Garden in 1763.[235]

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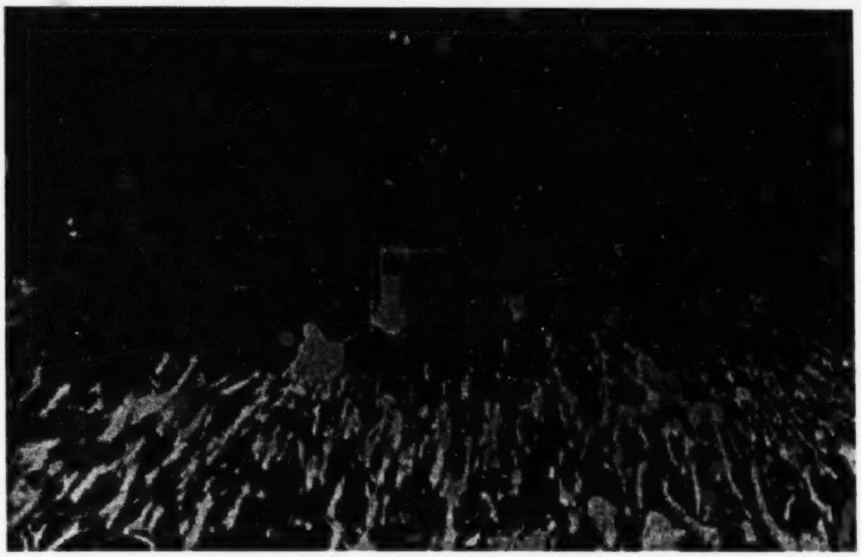
[235] Taken from David Thomas, ed., *Restoration and Georgian England: 1660-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 335.



Picture 8. Reinhardt's production of *Oedipus Rex* at Covent Garden in 1912.[236]

productions of *Oedipus Rex* Reinhardt used not only a large raised stage, as Vitruvius claimed,[237] but also managed to achieve that this stage did not separate actors from the chorus and spectators. He was able to perform this task because he had, first, the front stall removed, thus creating an orchestra pit for the chorus, and then, the proscenium stage joined with the orchestra by long steps. In this way, the main characters of *Oedipus Rex* were not separated from the chorus and could easily move and mingle with the latter.

By having the proscenium stage modified and the structure of the orchestra pit changed, Reinhardt managed to give the spectators the impression that they were participating in the action unfolding before them (Carter 218). Moreover, by extending the acting area towards the audience, he drew the audience towards the actors on stage.

> ... a space was cleared in front of the stage by removing rows of stalls, for the chorus and crowd to act in and mix with the spectators. The front row of the stalls was, in fact, in touch with the outer fringe of the crowd, while all the players made their entrances and exits though the audience at various points of the arena. (Carter, 218)

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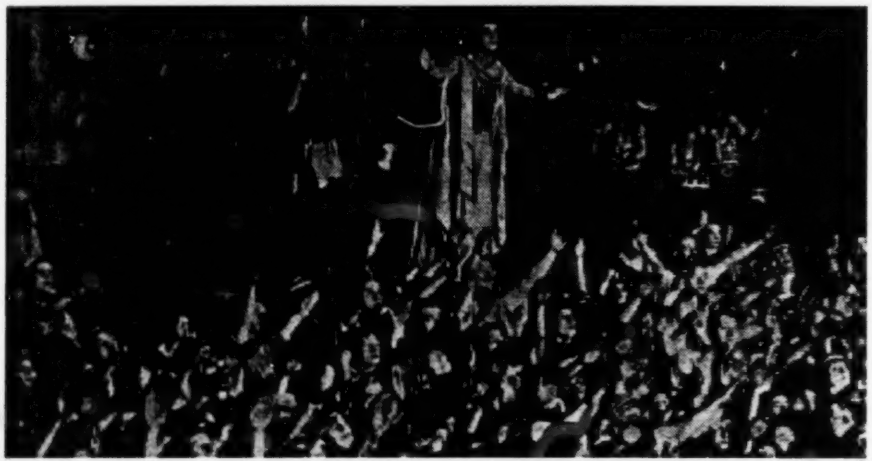
[236] This picture is from Karen Dorn, *Players and Painted Stage: The Theatre of W.B. Yeats* (Sussex: The Harvester P & New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1984) Plate 24 between the pages 82 and 83.

[237] See Arnott, *Greek Scenic Conventions*, 3-4, and section 1.2.2. of Chapter II, in which Vitruvius' and contemporary theories on the structure of the raised stage (*λογεῖον: logeion*) in Greek theatre are discused in detail.

Nonetheless, the most powerful connection beween the spectators and performers in those productions was not simply the modification of the physical structure of Covent Garden ; it was the presence of a large chorus, as illustrated in the following picture:



Picture 9. Oedipus Rex at Covent Garden in 1912, with Sir John Martin-Harvey as Oedipus[238]

The presence of such a large chorus is overwhelming, especially when seen against the solitary figure of Oedipus (Sir John Martin-Harvey). Thus it is not surprising that the impact of that chorus, and particularly its supplication dance, upon its contemporary British audience is described as follows:

> Perhaps the most artistic effect was that attained by the crowd and Oedipus. Oedipus stood on the rostrum calm and self-possessed. Beneath him surged the infuriated mob, with outstretched arms, swelling up to him like a sea of angry emotions, and returning thence to the Leader of the Chorus in response to his call. There on one side Oedipus stood like an intellectual pinnacle islanded in the billowing ocean of human beings; and there on the other side the Leader stood like the Spirit of the Infinite swayed to and fro by elemental passions. (Carter 218-19)

We cannot help but notice the resemblance between Reinhardt's production of *Oedipus Rex* and Nietzsche's notions of "ideal spectator" and "tragic hero" of an ancient Greek performance. Although Friedrich Schiller and August Wilhelm Schlegel had first claimed that the chorus in classical Greek tragedy frequently serves as an "ideal spectator"[239]--that is, it reacts to the events and characters as the dramatist might hope the audience would--it was Nietzsche's discussion of the "idealische Zuschauer" ("ideal spectator") that was the most influential upon the European polysystem and the English (U.K.) TS in particular.

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[238] Taken from J.L. Styan, *Max Reinhardt* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982) 82.

[239] See also section 1.2.3.2. of Chapter II.

In one of his most influential books, *Die Geburt der Tragödie*, Nietzsche founded his approach to Greek art on the distinction of Dionysian and Apollonian elements and their constant strife for predominance. For him, as previously for Friedrich Schlegel, the music, wild enthusiasm and delirium represent the Dionysian world, sculpture and the aesthetic pleasure, dream and illusion belong to the world of Apollo. For many centuries, claims Nietzsche, only the Olympian, serene perfection of form had been admired; yet, this seeming Apollonian "naive" art is very rare and always has to be founded in the overcoming of terrible suffering. It is because of this terrible suffering that the Greeks needed the Olympian gods to hide the dreadful foundation of all reality. Thus, he concludes that in Greek art the Dionysian and Apollonian forces, after a continual struggle for mutual destruction, finally reached their reconciliation in Attic tragedy.

The starting point, however, of Nietzsche's theory on Greek tragedy and its evolution is his basic assumption that the tragic chorus of satyrs, the servants of Dionysus, is the origin of tragedy, or as he puts it:

> Der Chor ist der »idealische Zuschauer«, insofern er der einzige *Schauer* ist, der Schauer der Visionswelt der Szene. Ein Publikum von Zuschauern, wie wir es kennen, war den Griechen unbekannt: in ihren Theatern war es jedem, bei dem in konzentrischen Bogen sich erhebenden Terrassenbau des Zuschauerraumes, möglich, die gesamte Kulturwelt um sich herum ganz eigentlich zu *übersehen* und in gesättigtem Hinschauen selbst Choreut sich zu wähnen. Nach dieser Einsicht dürfen wir den Chor, auf seiner primitiven Stufe in der Urtragödie, eine Selbstspiegelung des dionysischen Menschen nennen: welches Phänomen am deutlichsten durch den Prozeß des Schauspielers zu machen ist, der, bei wahrhafter Begabung, sein von ihm darzustellendes Rollenbild zum Greifen wahrnehmbar vor seinen Augen schweben sieht. Der Satyrchor ist zu allererst eine Vision der dionysischen Masse, wie wiederum die Welt der Bühne eine Vision dieses Satyrchors ist: die Kraft dieser Vision ist stark genug, um gegen den Eindruck der »Realität«, gegen die rings auf den Sitzreihen gelagerten Bildungsmenschen den Blick stumpf und unempfindlich zu machen. Die Form des griechischen Theaters erinnert an ein einsames Gebirgstal: die Architektur der Szene erscheint wie ein leuchtendes Wolkenbild, welches die im Gebirge herumschwärmenden Bacchen von der Höhe aus erblicken, als die herrliche Umrahmung, in deren Mitte ihnen das Bild des Dionysus offenbar wird. (Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie* 50-51)[240]

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[240] Or as the English translation reads, "[t]he chorus is the "ideal spectator" inasmuch as it is the only *seer*-- seer of the visionary world of the proscenium. An audience of spectators, such as we know it, was unknown to the Greeks. Given the terraced structure of the Greek theater, rising in concentric arcs, each spectator could quite literally survey the entire cultural world about him and imagine himself, in the fullness of seeing, as a chorist. Thus we are enabled to view the chorus of primitive prototragedy as the projected image of Dionysiac man. The clearest illustration of this phenomenon is the experience of the actor, who, if he is truly gifted, has before his eyes the vivid image of the role he is to play. The satyr chorus is, above all, a vision of the Dionysiac multitude, just as the world of the stage is a vision of that satyr chorus--a vision so powerful that it blurs the actors' sense of "reality" of cultured spectators ranged row on row about him. The structure of the Greek theater reminds us of a lonely mountain valley: the architecture of the stage resembles a luminous cloud configuration which the Bacchae behold as they swarm down from the mountaintops; a marvelous frame in the center of which Dionysos manifests himself to them." See Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy. The Birth of Tragedy and The Genealogy of Morals*, trans. Francis Golffing [Doubleday anchor Books] Garden City, N.Y. Doubleday, 1956) 54; henceforth it will be cited as Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*.

For Nietzsche, the chorus has primarily a religious function in which myth[241] and the cult of Dionysus are closely associated. He also believes that even in its most perfect form, tragedy always represents the sufferings of Dionysus himself under the mask of a great hero. His ideas on the interrelation of Dionysian and Apollonian forces in tragedy and their effect on the audience are too complex to be analyzed here. It is relevant, however, that Nietzsche's "discovery" of the Dionysian quality of tragedy has largely been responsible for the rejection of the neoclassical views on Greek tragedy in general and *Oedipus the King* in particular, and has become the springboard for new approaches to and re-interpretations of Greek myths and tragedies in the twentieth century.

For our discussion, another important aspect of *Die Geburt der Tragödie* related to the tragic hero is Nietzsche's interpretation of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*. He asserts that there is an inherent conflict within the characters themselves, and sees a fundamental difference between the characters as they are represented by the tragedians, with an Apollonian mask, and the deeper, most frightful reality of the myth itself behind them. Thus Nietzsche challenges his own contemporary literary status quo by claiming that up to then the myths were not studied at all; the literary works were studied and imitated instead. For him, the image of Oedipus that Sophocles delineates for us is one side of his tragedy only, the moral and Apollonian aspect. It should never be forgotten, however, insists Nietzsche, that this superior serenity over the whole work is only meant to hide the monstrous, preceding events that have led to this situation.

> Wenn wir mit dieser Erklärung dem Dichter gerecht geworden sind, so kann doch immer noch gefragt werden, ob damit der Inhalt des Mythus erschöpft ist: und hier zeigt sich, daß die ganze Auffassung des Dichters nichts ist als eben jenes Lichtbild, welches uns, nach einem Blick in den Abgrund, die heilende Natur vorhält. Ödipus der Mörder seines Vaters, der Gatte seiner Mutter, Ödipus der Rätsellöser der Sphinx! Was sagt us die geheimnisvolle Dreiheit dieser Schicksalstaten? (Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie* 56)[242]

This passage contains two important points; the first is Nietzsche's return to what happened before the opening scene of the Sophoclean tragedy in an effort to explain the characters and the process that led to the situation of the tragedy. The second point is Nietzsche's particular attitude towards *Oedipus*. He considers the Sphinx as the crucial point of the myth without even mentioning the Delphic oracle. For him, the monstrosities of the parricide and of the incest could only be committed by a man of unnatural wisdom who was also able to solve the riddle of nature and to destroy a hybrid being like the Sphinx. The striking aspect of this approach to *Oedipus*, however, is the description of the victory over the Sphinx, a decisive moment in Oedipus' life, that cannot be found in Greek literature at all! Undoubtedly, Nietzsche's preoccupation with the religious aspect of myth, his effort to unravel the deeper level of Greek tragedy, and his focus on the Sphinx rather on the Delphic oracle have had a significant impact on most contemporary writers, such as the French writer Josephin Péladan and the German Hugo von Hofmannsthal, who have tried to re-write the Oedipus myth.[243]

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[241] We can see how Nietzsche re-interprets the Aristotelian notion of μῦθος (*mythos*)as "legend," "story" or "myth, "and relates it to the chorus and the tragic hero. For a brief discussion of the same issue see section 3. of this chapter.

[242] "[I]f this explanation has done the poet justice, it may yet be asked whether it has exhausted the implications of the myth; and how we see that the poet's entire conception was nothing more or less than the luminous afterimage which kind nature provides our eyes after a look into the abyss. Oedipus, his father's murderer, his mother's lover, solver of the Sphinx's riddle! What is the meaning of this triple fate?" (Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy* 61).

Moreover, Nietzsche's particular attitude towards the character of Oedipus became the turning point for the shift in theatrical performances and dramatic criticism. On the one hand, a revival of Greek tragedy occurred. In that period, it was the character of Oedipus in *Oedipus the King*, among all the other Greek tragedies, who became the supreme model of the tragic hero. One of the reasons why Oedipus captured the imagination of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was that he expressed all the ideals for which the people of that period were craving: the overcoming of ignorance, even if it meant that it could be achieved only through sufferings.[244] It is thus the solitary figure of Oedipus standing among the large chorus in the Reinhardt production who became the symbol of that age.

Even for Gilbert Murray, a classical scholar, translator and poet, the character of Oedipus in *Oedipus the King* became the ultimate representation of a man who "stands above all common men," as it is revealed in the exchange of his letters with Sir John Martin-Harvey, who played the role of Oedipus. After the Reinhardt production of *Oedipus Rex* had been criticized as sensational and non-Greek,[245] and after Murray had sent a long letter to *The Times* as a response to those criticisms, Murray also wrote a letter to Martin-Harvey and made the following suggestions to him:

> [I] think your first entrance, blinded, should be less realistic, more symbolic; it is lyrical in the Greek, that means beauty and music and *remoteness from realism* ... Drop all the use of the mere physical horror ... or almost all. [...] The greatness of the man triumphs over all the sin and misery and suffering. ... But I want the impression to come earlier. I should like to feel, right from your first entrance blinded, "here is a man who has been through all suffering and

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[243] Nietzsche's theories also influenced psychoanalysts, such as Freud, Jung and Adler. Nevertheless, this impact goes beyond the scope of this study.

[244] Of course, this Nietzschean notion of the tragic hero is indissolubly related to his notion of *Übermensch* (*overman*) which will be discussed later in this section.

[245] As mentioned before, it was J.T. Sheppard, another important classical scholar, who had reacted to both Murray's translation and Reinhardt production at Govent Garden in 1912 with these negative comments. For a discussion of Sheppard's response see 3.1. of this chapter.

> come out at the other end; who has done judgement on himself to the uttermost and now stands above all common men. I want to feel the man's greatness and the mystery of him. ... Now do I take you with me in all this? (Smith and Toynbee 162; author's emphasis)

Martin-Harvey's astonishingly co-operative attitude towards this constructive criticism is shown in his following letter to Murray:

> I like all you say about the treatment of the playing--say as much more as you feel, I shall greatly appreciate it--my own feeling was throughout for more retinence in the movement--in the rush of the rehearsals I got rather carried off my feet--when you see it next you will find it improved I think--and along the lines you indicate. (Smith and Toynbee 162)

A careful reading of the exchange of these letters indicates the interplay of three different dynamics. First, there is a close relationship between the translator and the protagonist of that production which, in theatrical terms, can only be described in the most positive terms, because it signifies the active participation of the translator in the process of staging his own translation. At this point, we should also keep in mind that Murray was an experienced producer of Greek tragedies. Second, the above-mentioned excerpt from Murray's letter to Martin-Harvey shows that the former believed and interpreted *Oedipus the King* as "less realistic, more symbolic." When contextualized, his letter signifies that Murray as a classical scholar, poet, translator and producer participated, like Yeats,[246] in the movement of the Non-Naturalist theatre in the U.K. His emphasis on the "remoteness from realism" in *Oedipus* can be understood as a revolt against the grain of the Naturalist theatre which was advocated by Ibsen and his followers in England (e.g. William Archer). Finally, when Murray draws Martin-Harvey's attention to "[t]he greatness of man [who] triumphs over all the sin and misery and suffering," and to "a man who ... now stands above all common men" suggesting to him "to feel the man's greatness and the mystery of him," we can identify the radical shift of emphasis from the Aristotelian notions of plot (*μῦθος: mythos*) and action (*δρᾶσις: drasis*) to the Nietzschean interpretation of myth (*μῦθος: mythos*) and his concept of the *Übermensch* whose main proponent is Oedipus, the man who "stands above all common men."

To understand the strong parallelism between Murray's statements about the character of Oedipus and Nietzsche's *Übermensch*, we should recall how Nietzsche perceives the *Übermensch*. He envisioned him as the human being (*Mensch*) who has organized the chaos of his passions, given style to his character and become creative. Aware of life's terrors, the *Übermensch* affirms life without resentment. With only a few exceptions, Nietzsche uses the notion of the *Übermensch* in the singular and usually as a worldly antithesis to God.[247] According to Nietzsche, man (*Mensch*) should not conceive perfection as given or a fact (*gegeben*) but as a task (*aufgegeben*) that few approach.[248] There is no meaning in life except that which man gives his life, and the aims of most men have no surpassing dignity. To raise oneself above the senseless flux, one must cease to be merely human, all-too-human (*Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*). One must be hard against oneself; one must become creator instead of remaining a mere creature. It is in the aphorism 910 of *Der Wille zur Macht* (*The Will to Power*) in which Nietzsche epitomizes his concept of the *Übermensch* when he wishes to those he wishes well:

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[246] See the section 3.3. of this chapter.

> Leiden, Verlassenheit ... die tiefe Selbstverachtung, die Marter des Mißtrauens gegen sich, das Elend des Überwundenen ...[249]

The striking resemblance between Nietzsche's discussion of tragic character in *Die Geburt der Tragödie* and his notion of the *Übermensch*, and Murray's statements about the character of Oedipus in his letter to Martin-Harvey leaves no doubt about the influence of the former's work upon the latter and the latter's interpretation of this tragedy. We can certainly propose that Murray, when translating Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*, had not only read but also internalized at least Nietzsche's *Die Geburt der Tragödie* and *Der Wille zur Macht*.[250] Since 1912, Murray's translation was used both for productions and in World Drama anthologies, such as *Ten Greek Plays*,[251] *Milestones of the Drama*[252] and *Fifteen Greek Plays*,[253] on both sides of the Antlantic.

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[247] The only passage in which the notion of *Übermensch* is used in plural is "Von den Dichtern," ("Of Poets") in *Also Sprach Zarathustra* (*Thus Spoke Zarathustra*), which is by itself an ironic, self-critical passage. See Friedrich Nietzsche, *Also Sprach Zarathustra. Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. Karl Schlecta, vol. 2 (München: Carl Hanser, 1955) 382-85.

[248] This approach is directly related to Nietzsche's notion of the will to power which was first conceived as the will to overcome oneself, then developed as the will to overcome one's neighbour and, finally, was fully exposed in his book *The Will to Power*. For the will to overcome oneself, see primarily "Von tausend und einem Ziele" ("Of the Thousand and One Goals") and "Von der Selbst-Überwindung" ("Of Self-Overcoming") in *Also Sprach Zarathustra* (*Thus Spake Zarathustra*); *Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. Karl Schlecta, vol. 2 (München: Carl Hanser, 1955) 322-24 and 369-72 respectively. For the will to overcome one's neighbour, see Nietzsche's aphorisms: 63 (Book 1), 118 and 146 (Book 2) in his *Morgenröte* (*Dawn*). See Friedrich Nietzsche, *Morgenröte. Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. Karl Schlecta, vol. 1 (München: Carl Hanser, 1954) 1053, 1093-96 and 1115-16 respectively. For a reappraisal of the ritual origin theory see Walter Burkert, "Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 7.2 (1966) 87-121.

[249] In English this passage reads as follows, "suffering, being forsaken ... profound self-contempt, the torture of mistrust of oneself, the misery of him who is overcome ..." The German text is quoted from *Der Wille zur Macht. Friedrich Nietzsche* (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner, 1952) 613; the English translation is mine unless otherwise indicated. The philological and ideological controversy about the posthumously published editions of this book is irrevelant to the argument of this dissertation.

[250] The same observation but from a different angle has been expressed in M.S. Silk and J.P. Stern, *Nietzsche on Tragedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981) 143-45. In this excellent study, the writers show how Murray's theory that tragedy derived from the Greek cult of the dead was originated in Jane Ellen Harrison's notion of the "eniautos-daimon," or "year-spirit," Nietzsche's *Die Geburt der Tagödie* and Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (143, 144 respectively).

3.3. *Oedipus the King* in prose and verse. Yeats's *Sophocles' King Oedipus*: Verse, philology, philosophy and the Abbey Theatre

In the early twentieth century there was, however, a third approach towards *Oedipus the King*: to translate this tragedy as prose and verse. The main proponent of this tendency was W.B. Yeats, the Irish poet and dramatist, who rendered *King Oedipus* "for the modern stage." In fact, he did not call it a translation but a version which was first performed at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin on 7 December 1926. Yet Yeats's interest in staging *King Oedipus* is long and intricate; it goes back to his involvement with the early work of the Greek theatre movement in England and his American lecture tour of 1903-1904.

One of the main interests that Yeats shared with a group of architects, stage designers, actors and producers, like E.W. Godwin, Gordon Craig, Sybil Thorndike, Graville Barker, and Gilbert Murray, was the revival of Greek drama in the U.K. based on new archaeological finds and very significant but conflicting German archaeological theories regarding classical Greek theatre.[254] The aims of these stage directors, producers and actors, who formed a group known as the Greek theatre movement, were to convert proscenium stages to resemble Greek theatres, and to produce Greek tragedies along the lines suggested by their contemporary philosophical and anthropological theories of the origins of drama.[255] One of the immediate consequences of all those philosophical and anthropological theories of classical Greek theatre was to reinforce in Great Britain the strong non-naturalist movement in theatre, which had already begun.

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[251] Gilbert Murray, *Oedipus, King of Thebes*. *Ten Greek Plays*, eds. Lane Cooper and H.B. Densmore (New York: Oxford UP, 1935) 1-49.

[252] Gilbert Murray, *Oedipus, King of Thebes*. *Milestones of the Drama*, ed. Helen Louise Cohen (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1940) 24-74.

[253] Gilbert Murray, *Oedipus, King of Thebes*. *Fifteen Greek Plays*, ed. Lane Cooper (New York: Oxford UP, 1943) 161-210.

[254] As discussed in section 3.2.1. of this chapter.

[255] During that period the most influential figures were Nietzsche and Harrison. The former, in his *Die Geburt der Tragödie*, claimed that the origins of tragedy is dithyramb and the tragic chorus (see section 3.2.1.), the latter, in her *Ancient Art and Ritual*, that the ritual origins of drama put into question the nature of the poetic and dramatic images produced in the Greek theatre. Harrison's *Ancient Art and Ritual*, rev. 2nd ed. (New York: Henry Holt & London: Williams & Norgate, 1918) was one of the sources of inspiration both of the early Greek theatre movement and of the members of the so-called Cambridge School of Classical Anthropology.

Yeats not only shared all those interests with other members of this movement but also became one of the most ardent advocates of the Non-Naturalist theatre in Ireland.[256]

It was, however, during his 1903-1904 American lecture tour that Yeats became interested in staging Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*. When we consider that this Greek play was at the time banned by the Lord Chamberlain from any stage in Britain,[257] we may comprehend why Yeats was so impressed when he heard that this tragedy of patricide and incest had been successfully produced at the Catholic University of Notre Dame:

> Nearly thirty years ago I was at the Catholic University of Notre Dame of Illinois. I had come there to give a lecture about Irish literature, and stayed for a couple of days. A certain monk, specially appointed, I think, to look after the guests, was the best of companions, and told me a great many exciting things about his monastery, about the Irish in America, and about his own thoughts.
>
> The thing that stayed longest in my memory was that "Oedipus the King" had just been performed under the auspices of his University. "Oedipus the King" was at that time forbidden by the English censor, and I thought that if we could play it at the Abbey Theatre, which was to open on our return, we might make our audience proud of its liberty, and take a noble view of the stage and its mission.[258]

> When I first lectured in America thirty years ago, I heard at the University of Notre Dame that they had played *Oedipus the King*. The play was forbidden by the English censorship on the ground of its immorality; Oedipus commits incest; but if a Catholic university could perform it in America my own theatre could perform it in Ireland. Ireland had no censorship, and a successful performance might make her proud of her freedom, say even, perhaps, "I have an old historical religion moulded to the body of man like an old suit of clothes, and am therefore free." (Clark and McGuire, 5)

Although Yeats never saw that production, he was so impressed by the news that when he returned to Dublin, he sought to have this play staged. Nevertheless, Yeats started to write his own version only after he had searched for translations, but was not satisfied with any.[259] It was around 1912 when, having settled on the translation by Jebb,[260] Yeats began to rework that translation, making his own version. But he had just completed the translation of all the dialogues and intended to tackle the choruses as his next task, when his work on *Sophocles'* King Oedipus came to a halt and was not resumed until early 1926. The main reason for Yeats's loss of interest in staging his *Sophocles'* King Oedipus at that time was that the Censor's ban against *Oedipus Rex* was lifted in late 1911 and that Reinhardt used the translation by Murray to produce the spectacular *Oedipus Rex* at Covent Garden.[261]

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[256] James W. Flannery, *W.B. Yeats and the Idea of a Theatre* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976).

[257] See: (1) Fowell and Palmer, 275; (2) Clark and McGuire, 3; and (3) section 3.2.1. of this chapter.

[258] Karen Dorn, "W.B. Yeats's Unpublished Talk on His Version of *King Oedipus* Broadcast from BBC Belfast Studio on 8 September 1931," *Yeats Annual No. 5*, ed. Warwick Gould (London: Macmillan, 1987) 196. Yeats mistakenly refers to the production of *Oedipus*"at the Catholic University of Notre Dame of Illinois." He meant the performance of *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* by the students of the 1899 class at the Notre Dame University, Notre Dame, Indiana. See *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles: Translated and Presented by the Students of Notre Dame University* (Notre Dame, IN: UP, 1899).

[259] He first asked Murray whether he could make a translation of *King Oedipus* for the Abbey Theatre. When Murray turned down his request, Yeats began looking for an actable translation. He approached Gogarty, John Eglington and others as likely translators but none had produced a translation that could satisfy Yeats. Then he decided to settle on the translation by Jebb which had previously been staged in Cambridge in 1887.

[260] It is well-known that Yeats used primarily the translations by Jebb that were performed in Cambridge in 1887 and 1912; see Clark and McGuire, 20.

Considering that Yeats was not a philologist like Jebb, Campbell, Young, Storr or Murray, we can understand why, in order to make his version, he had to rely heavily on intertexts, that is, earlier translations made mainly by classicists.[262] It is also beyond doubt that the use of intertexts by Yeats fosters a strong interdiscursivity within his own text. In other words, it denotes the partial but strong influence of classical philology--especially Jebb's translation--upon the Yeatsian version of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus. In addition, to comprehend the changes and drastic cuts in *Sophocles'* King Oedipus, we should ponder some other factors, such as the theatrical and stylistic principles governing Yeats's version, the indirect influence of Nietzschean discourse upon those principles, and the physical reality of the Abbey Theatre.[263]

In the following discussion we shall try to demonstrate, first, how we can trace the existing intralingual intertextuality, the presence of intertextuality between two or more texts written in the same language, and interdiscursivity[264] between Jebb's translation of *Oedipus Tyrannus* [265] and Yeats's version of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus, and, second, how the extensive cuts and changes in the latter's version reveal his unique interpretation of *Oedipus*, as well as the influence of Nietzsche's concept of the *Übermensch*.

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[261] Section 3.2.1. of this chapter is devoted to the significance of Murray's translation and Reinhardt's production of this tragedy for the British TS.

[262] In my paper "Intertextuality in Yeats's Version of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus," presented at ACLA '93 (1993 American Comparative Literature Association Annual Meeting) in March 1993, I developed the thesis that Yeats used two different intertexts, translations of *Oedipus the King*, to make his own version. On the one hand, he used Jebb's *The Oedipus Tyrannus* extensively; one the other hand, there is textual evidence that he also--but to a smaller extent--employed the French translation of *Oedipus* made by Paul Masqueray, *Sophocle, Ajax --Antigone--Oedipe Roi--Électre*, texte établi et traduit par Paul Masqueray, vol. 1 (Paris: Societé d' Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1922).

[263] W.B. Yeats, Preface, *Sophocles'* King Oedipus*: A Version for Modern Stage* (London: Macmillan, 1928) v-vi; hereafter it will be cited as *Sophocles'* King Oedipus.

[264] In this context, this kind of intertextuality and interdiscoursivity both refer to Yeats's indebtedness to Jebb which is evident in his version of *Oedipus*.

[265] See section 3.1. of this chapter. All editions of Jebb's translation are identical, even those which were used in the sets of performances in Cambridge in 1887 and 1912. Of course, these editions lack the Introduction, Footnotes, Commentaries and Appendix of the 1887 edition; yet, after very close reading and comparative analysis, I found that the established Greek text and the translation are identical with the other editions and reprints. In this dissertation the 1893 edition of Jebb's translation, which is identical to that of the1887 edition, is employed.

One of the best examples of intralingual intertextuality and interdiscursivity in Yeats's version can be traced in the early dialogue between Oedipus and Creon (87-131),[266] which are quoted here in full, first in Jebb's version, then in Yeats's.[267] The passages in brackets in Jebb's text are those radically altered or omitted by Yeats.

[JEBB:]

CREON. Good news[: I tell thee that even troubles hard to bear,-if haply they find the right issue,-will end in perfect peace.]

OE. But what is the oracle? So far, [thy words make me neither bold nor yet afraid.]

CR. If thou wouldest hear while these are nigh, I am ready to speak; or else to go within.

OE. Speak before all; the sorrow which I bear is for these more than mine own life.

CR. With thy leave, I will tell [what I heard from the god.] Phoebus our lord bids us plainly to drive out a defiling thing, which (he saith) hath been harboured in this land, [and not to harbour it, so that it cannot be healed.]

OE. By what rite [shall we cleanse us? What is the manner of the misfortune?]

[CR. By banishing a man, or by bloodshed in quittance of bloodshed, since it is that blood which brings the tempest on our city.

OE. And who is the man whose fate he thus reveals!]

CR. Laïus, king, was lord of our land before thou was pilot of this State.

OE. I know it well [-by hearsay], for I saw him never.

CR. He was slain; and the god now bids us plainly to wreak vengeance on his murderers-whosever they be.

OE. [And where are they upon the earth?] Where shall the dim track of this old crime be found?

[CR. In this land,-said the god. What is sought for can be caught; only that which is not watched escapes.]

OE. And was it in the house, or in the field, or on strange soil that Laïus met this bloody end?

CR. 'Twas on a visit to Delphi, [as he said, that he had left our land; and he came home no more, after he had once set forth.]

OE. And was there none to tell? Was there no comrade of his journey who saw the deed, from whom tidings might have been gained, and used?

CR. All perished, save one who fled in fear, and could tell for certain but one thing for all that he saw.

OE. [And what was that?] One thing might show the clue to many, could we get but a small beginning for hope.

CR. He said that *robbers* met and fell on them, [not in one man's might,] but with full many hands.

OE. How, then, unless there was some trafficking in bribes from here, should *the robber* have dared thus far?

CR. Such things were surmised; but, Laïus once slain, amid our troubles no avenger arose.

OE. But, when royalty had fallen thus, what trouble in your path can have hindered a full search?

CR. The riddling Sphinx had made us let dark things go, and was inviting us to think of what lay at our doors.

(*The Oedipus Tyrannus* 23-29; emphasis added)

[YEATS]

CREON. Good news; for pain turns to pleasure when we have set the crooked straight.

OEDIPUS. But what is the oracle-so far the news is neither good nor bad.

CREON. If you would hear it with all these about you, I am ready to speak. Or do we go within?

---

[266] Line references are to the original Greek text; see A.C. Pearson, ed., *Οιδίπους Τύραννος* (*Oidipous Tyrannos*). *Sophoclis Fabulae* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1928) n. pag.

[267] In the present study all quotations are from the 1928 edition of *Sophocles' King Oedipus*.

> OEDIPUS. Speak before all. The sorrow I endure is less for my own life that these.
> CREON. Then, with your leave, I speak. Our lord Phoebus bids us drive out a defiling thing that has been cherished in this land.
> OEDIPUS. By what purification?
> CREON. King Laius was our king before you came to pilot us.
> OEDIPUS. I know-but not of my own knowledge, for I never saw him.
> CREON. He was killed; and the god now bids us revenge it on his murderers, whoever they be.
> OEDIPUS. Where shall we come upon their track after all these years? Did he meet his death in house or field, at home or in some foreign land?
> CREON. In a foreign land: he was journey to Delphi.
> OEDIPUS. Did no fellow-traveller see the deed? Was there none there who could be questioned?
> CREON. All perished but one man who fled in terror and could tell for certain but one thing of all he had seen.
> OEDIPUS. One thing might be a clue to many things.
> CREON. He said that they were fallen upon by a great troop of *robbers*.
> OEDIPUS. What *robbers* would be so daring unless bribed from here?
> CREON. Such things were indeed guessed at, but Laius once dead no avenger arose. We were amid our troubles.
> OEDIPUS. But when royalty had fallen what troubles could have hindered search?
> CREON. The riddling sphinx put those dark things out of our thoughts-we thought of what had come to our own doors.
>
> (*Sophocles'* King Oedipus 3-4; emphasis added)

In the above renderings of the early dialogue between Oedipus and Creon we can see that Yeats follows Jebb's translation closely without major changes in meaning. There are only two exceptions to this. First, Yeats omits Apollo's bidding to banish or kill the murderer of King Laius (95-98). By cutting this passage, however, he draws our attention to the character of Oedipus who became an image of struggle, and furthermore came to represent for Yeats the hero of a historical movement which exalted "subjective" assertion of personality over "objective" Christian obedience.[268] Second, Yeats' changes the lines 122-125 of the Sophoclean text that contain Oedipus' significant slip of changing "robbers" plural to "robber" singular. Jebb does not note this slip but translates it. In contrast, Yeats misses that slip of tongue when he keeps "robbers" plural in both cases; see the emphases added in the respective texts.

In spite of many instances of Yeats's indebtedness to Jebb, we should not presume that Yeats's text is simply a reproduction of Jebb's discourse. As a poet and dramatist, Yeats had his own ideas and theories about theatre, a glimpse of which is perceptible in the Preface to his *Sophocles'* King Oedipus. In this Preface, Yeats sets down the theatrical and stylistic principles governing his version as follows:

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[268] These terms have been taken from Yeats's *A Vision*. See W.B. Yeats, *A Vision: A Critical Edition of Yeats's* A Vision *(1925)*, eds. George Mills Harper and Walter Kelly Hood (London: The Macmillan P, 1978) 180-215.

> This version of Sophocles' play was written for Dublin players, for Dublin liturgical singers, for a small auditorium, for a chorus that must stand stock still where the orchestra are accustomed to put their chairs, for an audience where nobody comes for self-improvement or for anything but emotion. ... The one thing that I kept in mind was that a word unfitted for living speech, out of its natural order, or unnecessary to our modern technique, would check emotion and tire attention. (*Sophocles'* King Oedipus v, vi)

How well Yeats abided by these principles of rendering is evident from his reworkings of several parts of Jebb's translation, which reveal an interpretation of *Oedipus* significantly different from Jebb's. Therefore, let us focus our attention on the parts of Yeats's version that deviate substantially from those in Jebb's, especially the Priest's first speech and the choral odes.

Jebb's translation of the Priest's first speech reads:

> Nay, Oedipus, ruler of my land, thou seest of what we are who beset *thy altars*,-some, *nestlings still too tender* for far flights,-some, bowed with age, priests, as I of Zeus,-and these, the chosen youth; while the rest of the folk sit with wreathed branches in the market-place, [and before the two shrines of Pallas, and where Ismenus gives answer by fire.]
>
> For the city, as thou thyself seest, is now too sorely vexed, and can no more lift her head from beneath the angry waves of death; a blight is on her in the fruitful blossoms of the land, in the herds among the pastures, in the barren pangs of women; [*and withal the flaming god, the malign*] *plague* [*hath swooped on us, and*] *ravages the town;* [*by whom the house of Cadmus is made waste, but dark Hades rich in groans and tears*].
>
> It is not as deeming thee ranked with gods that I and these children are suppliants at thy hearth, but as deeming first of men, [both in life's common chances, and when mortals have to do with more than man;] seeing that thou camest to the town of Cadmus, and didst quit us of the tax that we rendered to the hard songstress; [and this, though though knwest nothing from us that could avail thee, nor hadst been schooled; no, by a god's aid, 'tis said and believed, didst thou uplift our life.
>
> And now, Oedipus, king glorious in all eyes, we beseech thee, all we suppliants, to find for us some succour, whether by the whisper of a god thou knowst it, or haply as in the power of man; [for I see that, when men have been proved in deeds past, the issues of their counsels, too, most often have effect.]
>
> On, best of mortals, again uplift our State: On, guard thy fame,-[since now this land calls thee savior for thy former zeal; and never be it our memory of thy reign that we were first restored and afterward cast down; nay, lift up this State in such wise that it fall no more!]
>
> With good omen didst thou art to rule this land, even as thou art now its lord,] 'tis better to be lord of men than of a waste: since neither walled town nor ship is anything, if it is void and no men dwell with thee therein. (*The Oedipus Tyrannus* 13-19; emphasis added)

Yeats, cutting this speech more extensively than any other speech up to line 1297, renders it into:

> PRIEST. Oedipus, King of my country, you can see our ages who are before *your door, some it may be too young for such a journey*, and some too old, Priests of Zeus such as I, and these chosen young men; while the rest of the people crowd the market-places with their suppliant branches, for the city stumbles towards death, hardly able to raise up its head. A blight has fallen upon the fruitful blossoms of the land, a blight upon flock and field and upon the bed of marriage-*plague ravages the city*. Oedipus, King, not good but foremost of living men, seeing that when you first came to this town of Thebes you freed us from that harsh singer, the riddling sphinx, we beseech you, all we suppliants, to find some help. Whether you find it by your power as a man, or because, being near the gods, a god has whispered you. Uplift our State; think upon your fame; your coming brought us luck, be lucky to us still, remember that

> it is better to rule over men than over a waste place, since neither walled town nor ship is anything if it be empty and no man within it. (*Sophocles'* King Oedipus 1-2; emphasis added)

The extensive changes to the Priest's speech in Yeats's text provide us with both an insight into the reduction in his revision of Jebb's text and a very good means of examining his principles of condensation. First, Yeats changes "thy altars" (Oedipus as semi-divine) to "your door" (Oedipus as a king, a "subjective" man).[269] Second, the Sophoclean metaphor "nestlings still too tender for far flights" gives away to "some it may be too young for such a journey." Furthermore, Yeats reduces Sophocles' description of the plague to the simple "plague ravages the city" omitting at the same time the phrase, "when men have been proved in deeds past, the issues of their counsels, too"; see the emphases added in the perspective quotations. He also cuts any mythological references and moralizing phrases which might "check emotion and tire attention" (*Sophocles'* King Oedipus v).

We must resist the temptation to refer to several later passages which Yeats leaves out of his version, and rather turn our attention to his treatment of the choral odes and the restructuring of the final episode. We should indicate, however, that the adaptation of the choruses and the final scene depends upon two different but interrelated factors: the physical structure of the Abbey Theatre and Yeats's personal view of this play. First, while adapting Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Yeats kept in mind that his version was to be performed on the small proscenium stage of the Abbey Theatre by a Dublin cast. Second, the change of the choral odes and the final scene transform the tragedy of a community into that of the lone figure of Oedipus. This is of course an interpretation very different from Jebb's, but much closer to Reinhardt's production of *Oedipus Rex* in London in 1912 and Nietzsche's notion of the tragic hero and *Übermensch*.

Regarding the Abbey Theatre for which *Sophocles'* King Oedipus was to be performed, we need to have a visual perception of its physical structure to comprehend the constraints that this theatre imposed upon Yeats. The Abbey Theatre was a very small neoclassical type of theatre with a small, dark orchestra pit with an equally small proscenium stage, as shown in the following picture:

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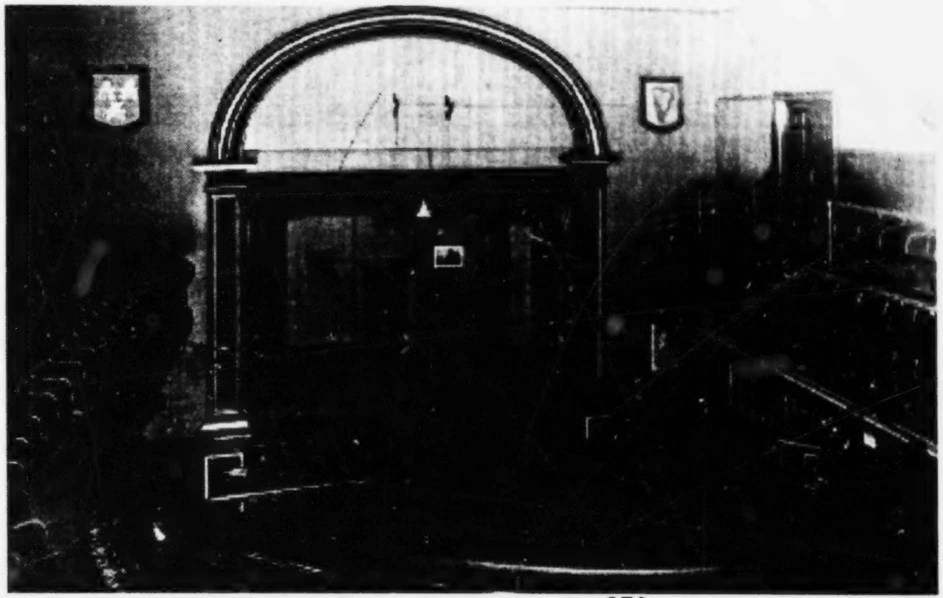
[269] In 1934 Yeats characterized Oedipus as the liberator of human personality, and thus a paradigm for "subjective" man. See Introduction to *The Holly Mountain* reprinted in W.B. Yeats, *Essays and Introductions* (London: Macmillan, 1961) 466-67.



Picture 10. The Abbey Theatre.[270]

A closer view of the small stage and orchestra pit in *Picture 10* shows that they were not only small but also lacked any contact with each other. In other words, there were no steps to facilitate the movement of the actors and chorus between these two acting parts of the theatre. Moreover, the small size of the orchestra pit itself prevented the movements of a large chorus like that in Reinhardt production at Covent Garden.[271] As a consequence, the proscenium stage was used as both the orchestra and the raised stage (*λογεῖον: logeion*)[272] of a Greek theatre. To have his *Sophocles'* King Oedipus performed in this theatre, Yeats did not have the front stalls removed, as Reinhardt had done in his London production. Instead he reduced the chorus to a Leader and five men and adapted the choral odes to "preserve the mood while it rests the mind by change of attention,"[273] a technique that he based on a Salvation Army meeting.[274] Despite the physical strictures imposed upon him, Yeats made an effort to make the proscenium stage of the Abbey Theatre resemble a Greek theatre. To accomplish that task, he used a stage set that had elements of the classical Greek theatre, such as columns and an apron staged dividing the proscenium stage of this theatre with a curtain; we have an illustration of this stage set in the following picture:

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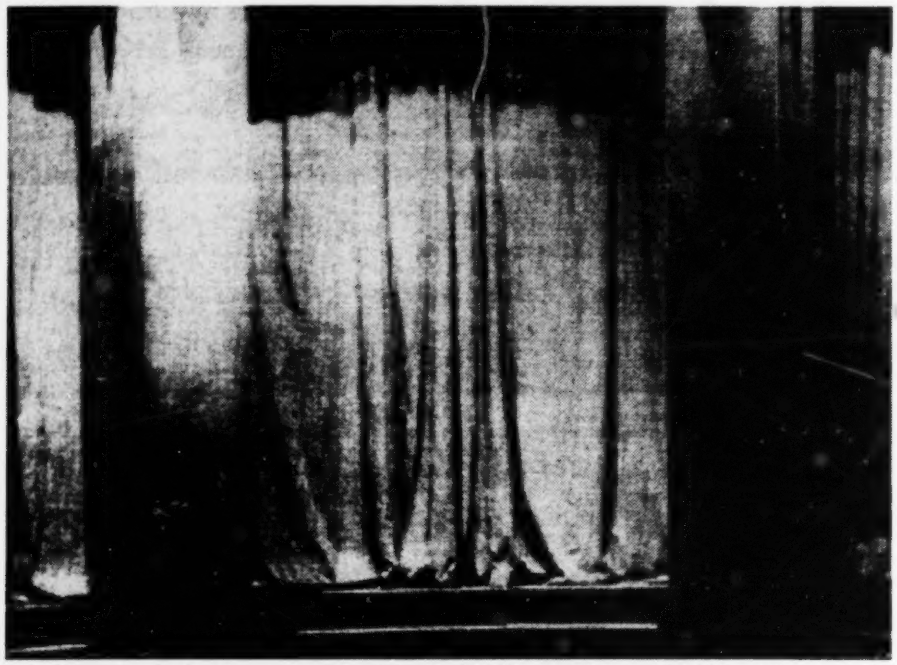
[270] Taken from Dawson Byrne, *The Story of Ireland's National Theatre: The Abbey Theatre, Dublin* (Dublin: The Talbot P, 1929) between pages 80 and 81.

[271] See *Pictures 8* and *9* in the present chapter.

[272] See section 1.2.2. , Chapter II of this dissertation.

[273] See *Sophocles'* King Oedipus vi,

[274] Karen Dorn, "W.B. Yeats's Unpublished Talk on His Version of *King Oedipus* Broadcast from the BBC Belfast Studio on 8 September 1931," *Yeats Annual No 5*, ed. Warwick Gould (London: Macmillan, 1987) 197-98.



Picture 11. The stage set for the production of *Sophocles' King Oedipus* at the Abbey Theatre in 1926.[275]

From a dramatic point of view, since the choral odes are the only part in Yeats's version that are in verse, and thus lyrical, they differ considerably not only from Jebb's prose but also from any other contemporary production of *Oedipus* in which the chorus retained the dramatic response to the play. In the first ode (151-215) in Jebb's translation, the chorus prays for deliverance from the plague by calling on Athena, Artemis and Apollo. In Yeats's version there is, however, something more. In the first stanza he changes Jebb's translation of the chorus' excitement into a real vision of terror: "What foul things that our fathers saw, do the seasons bring?/ Or what that no man ever saw, what new monstrous thing?" (*Sophocles' King Oedipus* 5). Compared to Jebb's rendering of the less explicit Greek phrase: "what thing thou wilt work for me" (*The Oedipus Tyrannus* 33), Yeats's "foul" and "monstrous" things are more concrete and are awaited "in a secret terror." This vision of terror is appropriate to Yeats's rendering, which does not present the city's communal grief, but instead constitutes a prayer for the defeat of death. Omitting antistrophe two, which describes the sorrow of the stricken city, Yeats develops the rest of the first ode out of these elements which deal with the god of death. In this shift of emphasis, the Sophoclean description of the city's woes is subordinated to an invocation against death.

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[275] Karen Dorn, *Players and Painted Stage: The Theatre of W.B. Yeats* (Sussex: The Harvester P & New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1984) Plate 26 between pages 82-83.

Furthermore, the communal feeling of the original Greek text, as it appears in 463-512, is even more absent from the second ode in Yeats's version. In addition to the cutting of any communal feeling, Yeats omits entirely strophe and antistrophe two which are concerned with the truth or falsity of divine prophecy. Instead, he concentrates on the mystical associations of the oracle itself. He shifts away from the search for "the unknown man" to "Earth's central shrine," when he renders this stanza as:

> That sacred crossing place of lines upon Parnassus' head,
> Lines drawn through North and South, and drawn through
> West and East
> That navel of the world bids all men search the mountain wood,
> The solitary cavern, till they have found that infamous past.
> (*Sophocles'* King Oedipus 16)

This stanza is surely closer to the Yeats of *A Vision*, preoccupied with gyres, cones, and vortices, than it is to Sophocles.[276] The rendering of this stanza seems itself a form of that "old extravagant fantastical expression" which Yeats praised in Sophocles as early as 1905.[277] Once again, in the third ode Yeats cuts both the question of the truth of divine prophecy, the central theme of the ode, and the call on Zeus; instead he concentrates his attention on man.

In the short fourth ode (1086-1109) we encounter a further aspect of Yeats's re-interpretation of the Sophoclean text. When in the original Greek and Jebb's translation the chorus joyfully awaits the revelation of Oedipus' birth and speculates about his possible parents, Yeats seems more interested in the revelations "in the hidden glen" for their own sake, thus stressing not the identity of Oedipus' parents but the mystery of a secret encounter.

Yeats's rendering of the final ode (1186-1222) does not depart in any significant way from Jebb's but is considerably more graphic. Taken as a whole, Yeats's version of this ode, written in long irregular lines, is a close re-creation of its Sophoclean counterpart, and at the same time it fulfills Yeats's ideal of a dramatic language which would be "bare, hard and natural like a saga."[278]

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[276] The Greek text reads as follows: "ἔλαμψε γὰρ τοῦ νιφόεν- /τος ἀρτίως φανεῖσα /φάμα Παρνασσοῦ τὸν ἄδη- /λον ἄνδρα πάντ' ἰχνεύειν. /φοιτᾷ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀγρίαν /ὕλαν ἀνά τ' ἄντρα καὶ /πετραῖος ὁ ταῦρος, /μέλεος μελέῳ ποδὶ χηρεύων, /τὰ μεσόμφαλα γᾶς ἀπονοσφίζων /μαντεῖα· τὰ δ' αἰεὶ /ζῶντα περιποτᾶται" (473-482).

[277] W.B. Yeats, "Notes and Opinions," *Samhain* 5 (November 1905): 12.

[278] W.B. Yeats, *The Letters of W.B. Yeats*, ed. Allan Wade (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1954) 720.

Even more than in all five choral odes, it is in the conclusion of the play that Yeats cuts and revises Jebb's translation the most drastically. Of the final 233 lines of the play, a total of 81 are omitted and an additional 12 are moved from their original position. The extensive cuts begin from the entrance of the blinded Oedipus at line 1297. Yeats omits about half the dialogue in which Oedipus' self-revulsion is mirrored by the horror of the Thebans. In addition, Yeats cuts out Oedipus' first request to Creon to be banned from the land (1436-46). In reducing the doubled revulsion of Oedipus and Thebans, and reviewing Oedipus' request to be cast out of the city of Thebes, Yeats has created instead a dramatic movement which culminates in the lone figure of Oedipus surrounded by his weeping daughters and Creon. The isolation of Oedipus is reflected again upon the single actor, the Chorus Leader, who addresses the final choral ode, spoken not sung, to the Abbey audience.[279]

In this final ode more than anywhere else, there is internal evidence of Nietzsche's influence upon *Sophocles'* King Oedipus.[280] Nevertheless, this influence does not have anything to do with the Nietzschean concept of chorus as the "ideal spectator,"[281] but rather with his notion of the tragic hero and *Übermensch*. The presence of the lone figure of Oedipus doubled by the single actor, the Chorus Leader, who spoke but did not sing the final choral ode to the Abbey audience, is the epitomy of Nietzsche's concept of the tragic hero and the *Übermensch* as quoted earlier in this chapter. In the 1926 performance, although Yeats's Irish audience was denied the intercession of Nietzsche's visionary chorus due to the physical constraints of the Abbey Theatre, it still sustained a powerful vision of two lone and suffering figures on stage, those of Oedipus and the Chorus Leader.

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[279] The music used in the Abbey production is printed in the 1928 edition of Yeats's version of *King Oedipus* with the note that the final chorus was to be spoken, not sung, by the Leader. See *Sophocles'* King Oedipus 61.

[280] There are three excellent studies of Nietzsche's influence upon Yeats's poetry and drama: (1) David S. Thatcher, "William Butler Yeats," *Nietzsche in England: 1890-1914* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1970) 139-73; (2) Patrick Bridgwater, "The Strong Enchanter (W.B. Yeats)," *Nietzsche in Anglosaxony: A Study of Nietzsche's Impact on English and American Literature* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1972) 69-90; and (3) Patrick Bridgwater, "English Writers and Nietzsche," *Nietzsche: Imagery and Thought. A Collection of Essays*, ed. Malcolm Palsey (London: Methuen, 1978) 220-58. Yet, there is no study on, nor a reference to, Nietzsche's influence on Yeats's Sophocles' *King Oedipus*. One possible explanation for that absence might be that Yeatsian scholars have always been uneasy in classifying Yeats's version of *Oedipus* either as a translation or as a play.

[281] See section 3.2.1. of this chapter and more specifically the part that compares the chorus in Reinhardt production of *Oedipus Rex* in London (1912) to Nietzsche's concept of the "ideal spectator," as the latter has developed it in *Die Geburt der Tragödie* 50-51.

3.3.1. Significance of Yeats's *Sophocles'* King Oedipus

Interestingly, Yeats's version of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus, when studied closely, can be a very important case study for many disciplines, such as classical studies, comparative literature, theatre and drama studies, and translation studies. It also occupies a special place in the English-speaking world for many reasons.

Disciplines such as classics and comparative literature can benefit from Yeats's version of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus because the process of writing itself shows what is involved in intralingual intertextuality and interdiscursivity; in other words, it sheds light on what is involved in the process of rewriting previous (philological) translations and incorporating a philosophical discourse in order to make an old Greek tragedy accessible to a contemporary but non-Greek audience and readership.

It can also be asserted that, when viewed as a united enterprise, Yeats's *Sophocles'* King Oedipus also fulfills the ideal of some theatre semioticians.[282] By a united enterprise is meant the powerful relationship between the written text (the original or a translation) and the performance text, during which each text bears the other's traces; that is, how much of the actual written text is used in an actual performance. Thanks to the excellent scholarship of Clark and McGuire and their book *W.B. Yeats: The Writing of Sophocles'* King Oedipus, we can trace what text was used in the actual performance in 1926 (Rex 3 in *The Writing of Sophocles'* King Oedipus 252-63); how the 1926 performance of *King Oedipus* helped Yeats to improve and revise his very first version of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus for future performances and publications (Rex 4 and 5 in *The Writing of Sophocles'* King Oedipus 264-429 and 430-37 respectively); and a collation of those performance texts and written texts used in the different publications of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus (1928, 1934, 1952, 1960, and 1966).

It should also be emphasized that Yeats's version of *Oedipus* can shed new light on aspects which, up to the present, have been considered stumbling blocks in the field of translation studies. First, Yeats fleshes out the 1980s "ideal" of a translator of theatre texts: "[t]he task of the translator must be to determine what those structures [distinguishable structural features that make it performable, beyond the stage directions themselves] are and to translate them in to [sic] the TL, even though this may lead to major shifts on [sic] the linguistic and stylistic aspects."[283] In Yeats's version we encounter a translator who took into "account the function of the text as an element for and of performance"[284] and changed the original text accordingly. As noted earlier,

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[282] Keir Elam, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama* (London & New York: Methuen, 1980) 208-10.

[283] Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies* 122.

[284] Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies* 132.

Yeats "put readers and scholars out of his mind"[285] in order to create not just another meaning, but to re-create, re-interpret, and, eventually, to transform the old Sophoclean tragedy of *Oedipus Tyrannus* into a live and contemporary play accessible to everybody, both an Irish theatre audience and a general readership.

Despite scholarly comments that Yeats's version is either "more Yeats than Sophocles but splendid indeed"[286] or just "mystic romantic visions,"[287] it was that version which went far beyond the limits of Dublin and Yeats's own expectations. It is exactly that version that was broadcast from the Belfast Studio by the Abbey Players on 14 September 1931, and also used in memorable productions of *King Oedipus* in the U.K. and North America. To mention some, Yeats's version was used in the productions with Laurence Olivier as Oedipus in London and then at an Old Vic production at the Century Theatre in New York in 1945. In 1954 and 1955, the Stratford Ontario Festival Players under the direction of Tyrone Guthrie presented Yeats's version in Stratford, Ontario, and in 1956 at the Edinburgh Festival.[288] In July 1973, Yeats's version of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus was produced where it was first performed, at the Abbey Theatre, by Michael Cacoyannis, a famous Greek-Cypriot producer. Furthermore, it was Yeats's version, initially intended for stage performance, that was also published in anthologies with high circulation, and enjoyed by an average English readership.

Finally, Yeats's version of *King Oedipus* reveals a pattern in translating of classical theatre texts with which both classical scholars and theoreticians of translation studies have yet to come to terms. This pattern shows two dynamics that, although they became evident at the beginning of the twentieth century, have been fully developed only in its second half, an issue that we shall discuss in the remaining chapters of this dissertation. First, the majority of the English-speaking world has comprehended and received Greek tragedies and *Oedipus the King* mainly through translations and performances; and, second, the starting point for many contemporary producers of Greek tragedies, and even for playwrights, is to work and rework a translation made by a classical scholar, which progressively becomes a re-creation, or a re-interpretation of a very old Greek playtext.[289]

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[285] *Sophocles'* King Oedipus v.

[286] William Arrowsmith, "Ancient Greek," *The Craft and Context of Translation*, eds. W. Arrowsmith and R. Shattuck (Austin, Tx : The U of Texas P, 1961) 180.

[287] B.M. Knox, Introduction to *Oedipus the King. The Three Theban Plays*, trans. R. Fagles (New York: Penguin Classics, 1982) 135.

[288] These productions will be the subject of Chapter IV.

[289] Susan Bassnett, one of the main proponents of the "Manipulation School" of translation studies, attacks almost the same practice at the (British) National Theatre, because she sees it as a question of power relationships. She claims that the policy of the National Theatre is to commission translators

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter our aim has been twofold. First, we have tried to illustrate the significance of the proliferation of imitations, versions, translations and performances of a very "canonical" genre like tragedy in Restoration England and in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century English-speaking world for disciplines like translation studies, semiotics of theatre and drama, classical studies and comparative literature. Second, we have ventured to show how this abundance was interrelated to various social discourses, to changing theatrical conventions and differences in targetted audiences.

Taking as an example Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*, the most discussed, imitated, translated and performed tragedy, we have discussed how a Restoration playwright like Dryden, classical scholars like Jebb, Campbell, Young, Murray, Storr and Sheppard, an Austrian producer like Reinhardt, and a twentieth-century dramatist like Yeats, contributed to reception of the play by the British, Irish and North American TSs during particular periods and to our understanding of the way in which each of them perceived it. We have also attempted to demonstrate how indissolubly intertwined these versions, translations and productions of *Oedipus the King* were with the change of the dramatic and theatrical conventions and with discourses like philosophy, politics and philology.

Presenting Aristotle's and Nietzsche's theories on the study of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus the King*, we have ventured to show the lasting impact of the philosophical discourse upon the formation of Western literary criticism, playwriting and theatrical productions. Aristotle, claiming that plot (*μῦθος: mythos*) and action (*δρᾶσις : drasis*) are the quintessence of Greek tragedy and offering Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* as the best example of a well-made tragedy, became the classical authority to whom every neoclassical writer referred. His discussion of this Sophoclean play became the springboard for the Restoration version of *Oedipus* by Dryden and Lee. Nietzsche, instead of emphasizing the Aristotelian notions of plot and action, focused on myth (*μῦθος: mythos*), character and tragic hero or *Übermensch*, thus creating a paradigm shift in literary scholarship, playwriting and theatrical productions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. His emphasis on the deeper levels of interpretation of myth in Greek tragedy not only led to a revival of Greek tragedy but also made Greek tragedy and *Oedipus the King* one of the forces of resistance against a Naturalist theatre in the U.K. In

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to produce "literal" translations and the texts are then handed over to well-known but monolingual playwrights with an established reputation so that larger audiences will be attracted into the theatre. See Susan Bassnett, "Translating for the Theatre: The Case Against Performability," *TTR* IV.1 (1991) 101. For a presentation of Susan Bassnett's translation theory see section 2 of Chapter I and for an argumentation against the above-mentioned position see section 2.2.2.1.2. of Chapter VI.

much the same way, Nietzsche's discussion about the significance of the tragic chorus led to new theatrical experimentations and, consequently, to the "rediscovery" of the physical structure of Greek theatre. His theories on tragedy were so influential that philologists, like Murray, and producers, like Reinhardt, saw, translated and produced *Oedipus the King* in a new light.

Moreover, we have asserted that politics played an important role in the making of various versions and translations of *Oedipus* in two different ways. First, it had been expressed intrinsically either in overt political statements of the author himself within the text (i.e. Dryden's *Oedipus*) or in the delineation of characters, like Creon in Dryden's *Oedipus*, which, eventually became *topoi* of political discourse of a particular period (the Restoration). Second, politics has been manifested extrinsically as a very powerful and prohibitive discourse in the form of censorship. Although *Oedipus the King* was the most discussed and translated tragedy in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century U.K., yet it was banned from the British stage, and allowed to be performed only under the auspices of very authoritative departments of classics, like that at Cambridge University. It was only in 1912, and only when classical and theatrical authorities like Murray and Reinhardt pressed on with performances, that *Oedipus the King* was first produced for an average British public.

We have also argued that to understand how subtly philological discourse has been intertwined in the perception and reception of *Oedipus the King* by the British and North American TSs, we need to consider the best example of such a discourse: Jebb's translation of *The Oedipus Tyrannus*, which dominated the British and North American markets for almost a century. This translation has regularly been used by classical scholars and students of Classics, in performances, in different World Drama anthologies or as an intertext (intermediary or primary source) for other versions of *Oedipus*.

CHAPTER IV

OEDIPUS THE KING: ENGLISH VERSIONS, TRANSLATIONS, ADAPTATIONS, THEATRICAL PERFORMANCES AND FILMED VERSIONS FROM THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY UP TO 1959

Introduction

From the early twentieth century up to the late 1950s, there was a decline in the number of new translations of *Oedipus the King*,[290] but there was a proliferation of theatrical productions and filmed versions of the play. Why did this situation occur, and what were its consequences for the perception and reception of *Oedipus the King* by the English-speaking public during this period? In this chapter, we shall venture to answer these questions by exploring the relationship between old and new translations of this tragedy and some of its theatrical and filmed productions; we shall also try to see whether different discourses played any role in the making of these translations and productions.

In the first part of this chapter, we shall discuss how the early twentieth century translations and productions of *Oedipus* were revived and why they stirred a new interest in this classical tragedy. In the second and the largest part of this chapter, we shall argue that *Oedipus the King* became an arena for producers to experiment with stage realism and presentational Greek theatre. In the third and final part, we shall try to demonstrate the impact of the 1954/1955 Guthrie productions of *Oedipus Rex* at Stratford, Ontario, upon a general and sophisticated North American theatrical audience and readership, and, second, how Guthrie's theatrical productions became the springboard for three filmed versions of the play.

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[290] From the 1928 edition of Yeats's *Sophocles' King Oedipus* to the late 1950s eight new translations of *Oedipus the King* appeared in the North American and British markets: (1) Gasssner, *Oedipus the King* (New York, 1935; see section 1.2.1., Chapter V); (2) Hunt, *Oedipus Tyrannus* (Oxford, 1937); (3) Mendell, *Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* (New Haven, London and Oxford, 1941; see section 1.2.1., Chapter V); (4) Grene, *Oedipus the King* (Chicago, 1942; see section 1.2.2., Chapter V); (5) Truman, *Oedipus the King: A New Translation* (New York, 1946; see section 2.1, Chapter IV); (6) Watling, *King Oedipus* (Melbourne & Baltimore, 1947; see 2.1., Chapter IV and sections 2.1. and 2.1.1., Chapter V); (7) Mullahy, *Oedipus Rex* (New York, 1952; see section 2.1, Chapter IV); and (8) Knox, *Oedipus the King* (New York, 1959; see section 3.3., Chapter IV). For further bibliographical references see section C.3. of the Selected Bibliography appended to this dissertation.

1. English Translations and Theatrical Performances of *Oedipus the King* from the Early Twentieth Century up to 1946

1.1. Reception of *Oedipus* by the English public in the years between the wars

As mentioned earlier, there were three translations of Sophocles's *Oedipus the King* that exerted a great amount, but different degrees of influence upon the perception and reception of this classical tragedy by the English-speaking world during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: Jebb's *The Oedipus Tyrannus*, Murray's *Oedipus, King of Thebes* and Yeats's *Sopholces'* King Oedipus.

The first translation, Jebb's *The Oedipus Tyrannus*, dominated the British and North American markets for almost a century, as it was not only reprinted numerous times but also appeared at least in nine different anthologies of classical Greek, European or World drama.[291] On the other hand, Murray's *Oedipus, King of Thebes* can be considered as a landmark in the early twentieth-century British reception of this Greek tragedy for two important reasons. First, and against the strong opposition in philological circles to translating Greek drama into the vernacular, Murray, with his enormous prestige as a classical scholar, translated *Oedipus the King* into acceptable Victorian rhythms, thus making this tragedy accessible to an average English readership in 1911. Second, when Max Reinhardt produced *Oedipus Rex* using Murray's translation at Covent Garden in 1912, the production was regarded as one of the most revolutionary and influential in the Victorian British theatre.[292]

Much later, in 1923, the Reinhardt production of *Oedipus Rex* in Murray's translation was revived in London and New York. These productions were now directed by Sir John Martin-Harvey who once again played the role of Oedipus.[293] But if the British theatrical audiences were once stunned by Reinhardt's production, Murray's translation and Martin-Harvey's performance, the 1923 British audience was also allured by Martin-Harvey's stage direction and performance, and its American counterpart was greatly impressed by the overall production including the translation.[294] This production led theatric critics to speak of "a prevailing and overwhelming atmosphere of majestic law and religious piety."[295] To understand the American excitement over Martin-Harvey's direction of *Oedipus the King*, we should consider that, except for some sporadic performances of *Oedipus* at universities,[296] the metropolitan American public had experienced only two performances of *Oedipus* by professional actors up to that time: first, by Ermete Novelli, a famous Italian actor, who made his first appearance in New York with a series of plays including *Oedipus Rex* in 1907, and, second, by E. Kellerd in 1911.[297]

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[291] For a discussion of the use of this translation in various anthologies, see section 3.1.1. of Chapter III. For an enumeration of the different publications of this translation see under "Jebb, Sir R.C.," section C.3 in the Selected Bibliography.

[292] For a presentation and analysis of Murray's translation and Reinhardt's production of *Oedipus the King* see section 3.2.1., Chapter III.

[293] Sir Martin-Harvey played the role of Oedipus in the Reinhardt production at Covent Garden in 1912; see section 3.2.1., Chapter III.

[294] See Daniel Blum, *A Pictorial History of the American Theatre: 1860-1976*, enlarged and revised by John Willis, 4th ed. (New York: Crown, 1977) 201.

It was, however, Yeats's *Sophocles'* King Oedipus that became one of the most important renderings for the emergence of *Oedipus the King* as living drama in the English-speaking theatre from its first production at the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, 1926, to the early 1970s. Although the dramatic (literary) and performative (theatrical) aspects of Yeats's rendering of *Oedipus* have been discussed in section 3.3. of Chapter III, the importance and the impact of some productions using this version for and upon the reception of this tragedy by the British and North American TSs have been mentioned only in passing. Therefore, it is our intention in this section to discuss how the 1945 and 1946 Old Vic Company productions of *Oedipus Rex* affected the reception of this tragedy by the English-speaking theatrical audiences and became the springboard for more translations and productions in the early 1950s.

1.2. Yeats's *Sophocles'* King Oedipus and the Old Vic productions of *Oedipus Rex* in 1945 and 1946

It is all the more interesting that one of the major revivals of Greek tragedy in the English-speaking world was presented by the Old Vic Company at the New Theatre, London, immediately after World War II. Although Murray's translations of other Greek tragedies were popular in England during the war,[298] it was to Yeats's *Sophocles'* King Oedipus that the Old Vic Company turned to produce *Oedipus Rex*. It was Sir Tyrone Guthrie who suggested that Yeats's "very spare, stark and plain, seemingly antipoetic" rendering might be more suitable for the Old Vic production of *Oedipus* than Murray's "respectable" translation.[299]

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[295] J. Michael Walton, ed., *Living Greek Theatre: A Handbook of Classical Performance and Modern Production* (New York: Greenwood P, 1987) 358.

[296] We are referring to one of the earliest recorded North American performances of *Oedipus the King*, that is *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* [Translated and presented by the students of Notre Dame University (Notre Dame, IN: Indiana UP, 1899)], which was performed as early as 1899 and motivated Yeats to write his own version of *Oedipus*. For the indirect influence of this early performance upon Yeats see section 3.3., Chapter III of this dissertation.

[297] Daniel Blum, *A Pictorial History of the American Theatre: 1860-1976*, enlarged and revived by John Willis, 4th ed. (New York: Crown Publishers, 1977) 100-101 and 124-25 respectively. Further information about the translations used in these performances or the productions themselves is unavailable.

[298] During that period Lewis Cason and Sybil Thorndike had continued to tour Euripides' *Medea* around the mining villages of Wales and the North of England.

The director of the Old Vic productions of *Oedipus Rex* was Michel Saint-Denis, who was a highly respected director and whose record had set him in the forefront of the European theatrical movement. Having founded *La Companie de Quinze* in 1930, from 1935 onward he undertook a series of productions as actor and producer, and later became the director of the Old Vic Company and consultant director of the Royal Shakespeare Company.[300] Immediately before the war, he had directed Sophocles' *Electra* and Euripides' *Alcestis* for the London Theatre Studio and had worked previously with Olivier on *Macbeth*.[301] For *Oedipus Rex*, Michel Saint-Denis collaborated with John Piper, the setting designer, Marie-Hélène Dasté, the costume designer, and Laurence Olivier, the actor who performed the title role.

John Piper designed a controversial preclassical décor, with two columns flanking the main entrance stage left, imposing and stark white; see *Picture 12*. How controversial this setting was can be inferred from the diverse comments made by contemporary theatric critics. Whereas Harcourt describes it as "surrealistic, with a very *real* house portico in the middle of it,"[302] Audrey Williamson praises John Piper's setting for being one "of extraordinary beauty and fatality," that "at the same time achieved a sense of darkening and malignant destiny."[303]

As noted earlier, Marie-Hélène Dasté designed the costumes, which were Greek in cut, in silver, black and red for the chorus, and in different colours for the principal characters. Although we cannot see the various colours in the chorus' costumes, we can still discern the different style in costumes in *Pictures 12*, *13* and *14*. What becomes very clear from *Picture 13*, however, is that the Chorus did not wear masks in the Old Vic productions in 1954 and 1955. Yet after a closer look at the faces of the members of the Chorus, we soon realize that they have the same features. This can be attributed to the same make-up, wigs (hair) and beards worn by all these actors. Despite the fact that no actor wore a mask, there were two huge masked figures incorporated into the set itself "overseeing" the action; see the left side of *Picture 12*.

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[299] Sir Laurence Olivier, *Confessions of an Actor: An Autobiography* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982) 143; hereafter, it will be referred to as Olivier.

[300] Harcourt Williams, *Old Vic Saga* (London: Winchester Publications, no year) 192; henceforth it will be mentioned as Williams.

[301] Olivier 143.

[302] Williams 193; emphasis added.

[303] Audrey Williamson, "*Oedipus: The Critic*," *Old Vic Drama*, vol. 1 (London: Rockliff, 1953) 189; hereafter it will be quoted as Williamson.

Picture 12. Oedipus (Laurence Olivier) with the suppliants.[304]

Picture 13. Oedipus (Laurence Olivier) is surrounded by the Chorus.[305]

The performance, and especially the movement, of the Chorus received a great deal of attention and evoked various responses. Whereas Kenneth Tynan described his first impression of the Chorus as "a cluster of decent elders, forming and reforming themselves as Montague tells us William Poel arranged his chorus in *Samson Agonistes*," the critic of the *Times* complained about the Chorus' lack of flexibility. On the other hand, critics like Audrey Williamson were pleased with that minimal movement of the chorus, and found that:

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[304] Taken from Robert W. Corrigan, *The World of the Theatre* (Glenview, IL: Scott & Foresman, 1979) 248.

[305] Taken from Williams 191.

> [i]t was right ... [t]o reduce the choreographic movement to a bare minimum. The voices, very rarely punctuated by music, provided all the effect necessary, and one was spared the embarrassments of *Reinhardt's Dalcroze Eurythmics*. There was no impressive crowd scenes, as at Covent Garden, but the drama broke through clean, and Marie-Hélène Dasté's costumes, striking against Piper's chalk-white pillars and lowering sky, provided all the needful colour. (Williamson 189; emphasis added)

In Williamson's statement, it comes as a surprise that Reinhardt's production of *Oedipus Rex* in Murray's translation (1912) was still remembered and somehow resisted. As Williamson herself admits, while she had never seen the original Reinhardt production of *Oedipus Rex*, she had experienced Martin-Harvey's later productions of *Oedipus Rex* (Williamson 187-88). Nevertheless, she finds it appropriate to dismiss the crowd of the influential Reinhardt production for the Chorus of the 1945 Old Vic production of *Oedipus Rex*. What might have escaped Williamson is the difference in structure of the two theatres in which the Reinhardt and Old Vic productions took place: Covent Garden in 1912 and the New Theatre in 1945. As discussed earlier, Reinhardt had the proscenium stage of Covent Garden transformed into a Greek theatre structure, for he was aiming at altering the relation between actors and audience, and thus the perception of this Greek tragedy by its British audience. Yet, the Old Vic productions of *Oedipus Rex* at the New Theatre (London, 1945) and the Century Theatre (New York, 1946) took place in traditional proscenium stage theatres that did not allow the use of an impressive crowd as Chorus.

Although the music by Anthony Hopkins met with wide approval, the rest of the production was received with mixed feelings. On the one hand, Sybil Thorndike's[306] performance as Jocasta provoked much controversy. Tynan discredits it as follows:

> Sybil Thorndike played Jocasta in an entirely different convention, which I found jarring. The *prima donna* tragedienne (an oracular Sybil), with plump arms and a bellowing contralto, given to sudden hawk-like sweeps up and down the stage, she played with that traditional blazing intensity which, so far from illuminating the personality, strangles it into a sort of red hot anonymity. She treated every line as if it were the crucial line of the play: it was all so ponderously weighted that when the big hurdles approached, the horse could not jump.[307]

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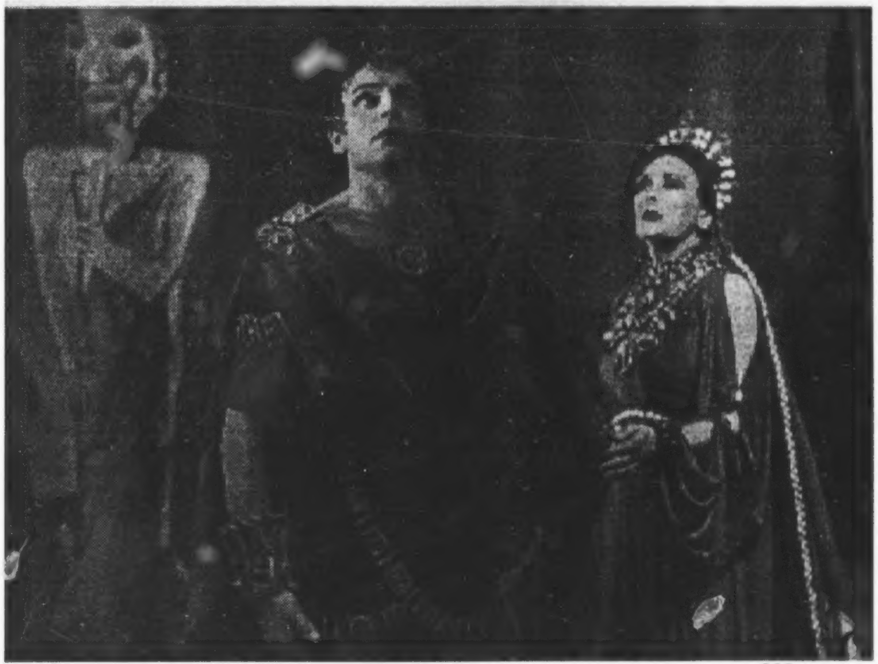
[306] In this dissertation, we have encountered the name of Sybil Thorndike when we have mentioned the Greek theatre movement (sections: 3.2.1. and 3.3., Chapter III). She was one of Murray's friends and had more experience playing Greek tragedy than any actor then alive. We shall encounter her name again in relation to the performance of *Oedipus Rex* by the Stratford Festival Players at the Edinburgh Festival in 1956; see section 2.3. of this chapter.

[307] Kenneth Tynan, "*Oedipus Rex* by Sophocles at the New," *A View of the English Stage: 1944-63* (London: Davis-Poynter, 1975) 28; henceforth it will be referred to as Tynan.

Audrey Williamson exalts Thorndike's acting and attributes any faults to her costume. In her opinion, Thorndike was:

> ... hampered by a heavily jewelled mauve costume which was Mlle. Dasté's one error in taste as a designer. There was more mother than wife in this Jocasta, but Sophocles himself has suggested with remarkable insight the maternal protectiveness in the Queen's love for Oedipus, and her intensely feminine logic which puts far greater importance on his happiness than on the satisfaction of his urge for truth. Sybil Thorndike finely showed the agony behind Jocasta's desperate last attempts to save Oedipus from the revelation which she realizes is about to break on him. Her own mute realization a few moments earlier had been horrifically mimed, and in the scene in which she brought wreaths to placate the angry gods--"for now we all afraid, seeing him afraid"--her foreboding ran like a cold current of fear through her trembling hands into the hearts of those who watched.
>
> This actress is a great tragedian in Greek drama because she has the courage which these plays need from the actor--the courage to let out the emotional stops. According to the debased standards of West-End acting this is not "done" and it makes some people uncomfortable. But there is only need for discomfort if the feeling let loose is not genuine. The grief that wells up in Sybil Thorndike at such moments is real, not simulated, grief, and her Jocasta--small though the part is beside the towering figure of Oedipus--gave us full measure of it. (Williamson 190)

We can see Thorndike's costume in the following picture:



Picture 14. Oedipus (Laurence Olivier) and Jocasta (Sybil Thorndike).[308]

The centre of attention of these productions was, however, Olivier's performance of the role of Oedipus. Although there were a few reservations about his decision to play Oedipus as the first part of a double bill with Sheridan's comedy *The Critic* on the same night,[309] the performances were acclaimed by a cheering audience and the critics concurred. In a review, John Mason Brown wrote the following flattering critique about Olivier's performance:

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[308] Taken from Hilde Spiel, *Sir Laurence Olivier* (Berlin: Rembrandt-Verlag, 1958) 38.

> [I] can only say that in *Henry V* and *Oedipus* I have seen the sun rise. And I refuse to mistake it for the moon, or salute it as such, when for me it is the sun. Mr. Olivier's Oedipus is one of those performances in which blood and electricity are somehow mixed. It pulls lightning down from the sky. It is as awesome, dwarfing, and appalling as one of nature's angriest displays. Though thrilling, it never loses its majesty. His Theban king is godlike in appearance ... sullen, willful, august, and imperious. There is something of the young Napoleon in him too, but he is a Napoleon pursued by the furies rather than following the Eagle.[310]

The most thrilling moments in Olivier's career were, however, the piercing cries with which he accompanied Oedipus' terrible self-recognition. Sounding like a slain animal's final agony, Olivier's shrieks epitomized his trademark of reaching for peaks of high emotion in which his explosion of rage or despair challenged the limits of the audience. To Olivier's cries there were various positive responses. The American critic John Mason Brown asserts:

> [w]hen the fearful realization at last inundates him ... Mr. Olivier releases two cries which no one who has heard them can hope to forget. They are the dreadful, hoarse groans of a wounded animal. They well up out of a body that has been clubbed by fate. They are sounds which speak, as no words could, for a soul torn by horror, for a mind numbed by what it has been forces to comprehend ... The subsequent moments when Oedipus appears, self-blinded with the blood trickling down his face, are almost more terrible than audience can bear. (Hirsch 29)

Other critics, like Audrey Williamson and Kenneth Tynan, were so impressed by Oedipus' (Olivier's) cries that they claimed that these cries would "echo for ever in the ears of all who heard it"[311] or that they "must still be resounding in some high recess of the New Theatre's dome" (Tynan 27). We can see what Brown, Williamson and Tynan recount so vividly for us in the *Pictures 15* and *16*.

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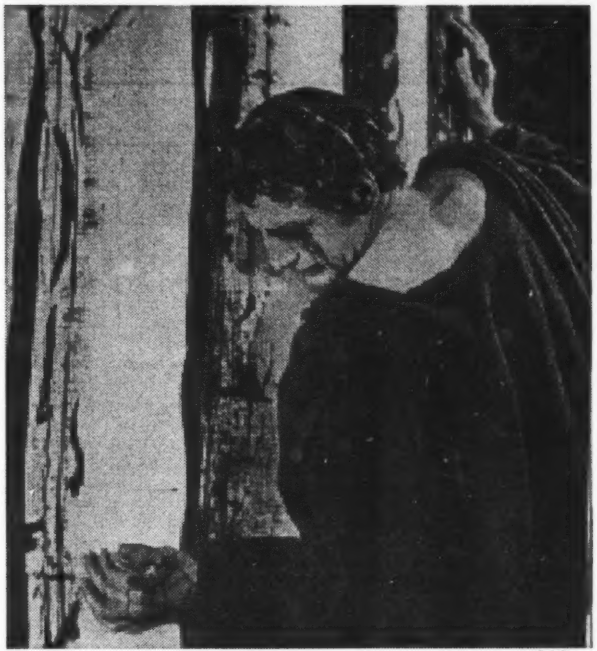
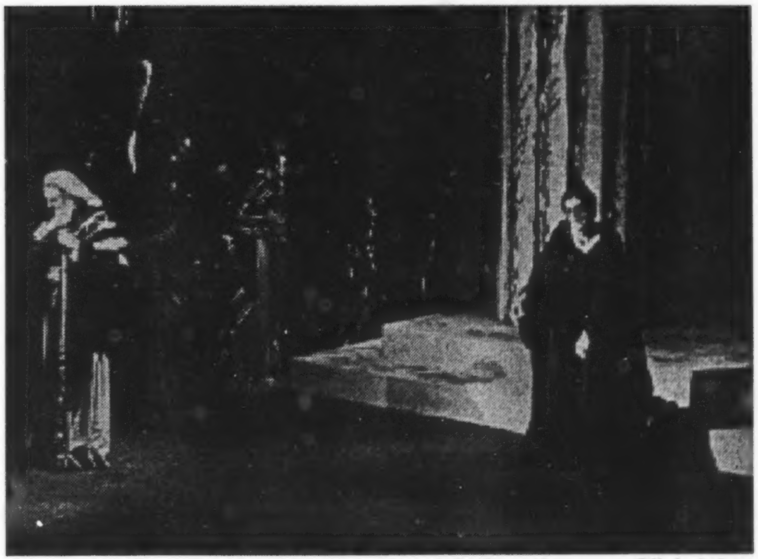
[309] Guthrie called it vulgar (Olivier 143) and Tynan "a bad slap in the face for Sheridan" (Tynan 29).

[310] Quoted from Foster Hirsch, *Laurence Olivier* (Boston: Twayne, 1979) 29; henceforth cited as Hirsch.

[311] Williamson 189.



Picture 15. The blinded Oedipus (Laurence Olivier).[312]



Picture 16. The spectacle of the self-afflicted Oedipus (Laurence Olivier) that cannot be borne even by the Chorus.[313]

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[312] Taken from John Cottrell, *Laurence Olivier* (Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975) facing page 308.

[313] Taken from Olivier, between pages 128 and 129.

In *Picture 15*, although we cannot hear Oedipus' (Olivier's) "groans of a wounded animal," we see the blood trickling from his eyes and his hands stained with blood. The view of the self-afflicted Oedipus is so horrifying that even the loyal Chorus cannot bear it; see *Picture 16*.

Although the critics praised Olivier's performance of Oedipus, this does not mean that everybody was happy with its theatrical realism. Sybil Thorndike, who played the role of Jocasta in these performances, recalls that "when [I] had been approached to play Jocasta, ... [I] just had not liked the play; found it distasteful. ... The gouged and sightless eyes of Oedipus streaming theatrical blood, and therefore physically duplicating the more powerful description in the words of Sophocles, that had offended him [Sophocles]."[314] Although these comments came much later, and in a different theatrical context,[315] it is significant that they were made by one of the most experienced actresses of Greek tragedy and expressed her strong reservations about realistic representation of Greek tragedy in general, and *Oedipus the King* in particular.

Beside these excited, and reserved, reactions to the realistic representation of Oedipus' self-recognition and self-affliction on stage, we are offered an inside-out perspective of these much-discussed cries from the actor who acted them, Sir Laurence Olivier himself. In his *Confessions of an Actor*, he explains that before he performed Oedipus, he had met Professor Maurice Bowra in one of Lady Sibyl Colefax's "smallish dinners for eight," and discussed Sophocles' *Oedipus* (Olivier 144). Olivier also acknowledges that his conversation with Professor Bowra had been illuminating and helped him "to find the sort of feeling about himself that Oedipus might bring onto the stage" (Olivier 144). Furthermore, it was Bowra's "[a]ll you can feel is *fated*"[316] that helped Olivier find his way to produce these extraordinary cries of Oedipus. In the same book, Olivier recalls and recounts for us vividly how he was able to act out these agonizing shrieks:

> The detail most remarked upon in this performance was the cry Oedipus must give when the whole truth of the Message, in this case conveyed by an old shepherd, is revealed to him. "Oh, oh" is given in most editions. After going through all the vowel sounds, I hit upon "Er." This felt more agonized, and the originality of it made the audience a ready partner in this feeling. Apart from this, the acting secret lay, as usual, in the timing, which was heightened by the spontaneity contained in the length of the pause before the cry.

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[314] Quoted from James Forsyth, *Tyrone Guthrie: A Biography* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976) 259.

[315] In this context Thorndike expresses her excitement over the entrance of the blind and veiled Oedipus in the Stratford Festival production of *Oedipus Rex* at the Edingurgh Festival, 1956, and compares it with that of the Old Vic production in 1945. The Stratford Festival production of *Oedipus Rex* in Yeats's version will be discussed in detail in section 2.3. of this chapter. For the blinded and veiled Oedipus in this production see *Picture 22*.

[316] Olivier 144.

> Most of us need secondary images to support this sort of intensity of expression. Here, in my case, all the animals that were ever caught in traps came to my aid in all sorts of variations; a favorite instance of this is the ermine that is trapped by salt scattered upon the hard snow. This the ermine starts to lick, but the cunning mixture holds fast to its tongue, keeping it prisoner though it tries to tear itself free. Trading upon this animal torment helped me to produce a horrifying enough noise. It is, as has been said, next to impossible to produce the effect of great suffering unless the actor endures some degree of it. (Olivier 144-45)

This statement is very interesting in itself not only because it opens a window for us to an actor's mind but also it sheds light upon his theatre theories and practice. To make "the audience a ready partner" in Oedipus' agonizing feeling of self-recognition, Olivier imagined himself being an animal trapped without a chance of escape. Furthermore, his opinion that no actor can "produce the effect of great suffering unless the actor endures some degree of it" implies that a play can make sense to a contemporary audience only if the play can be brought closer to the audience through a theatrically effective performance and production as a whole. It is clear from *Picture 12* to *16* that the Old Vic productions of *Oedipus Rex* were realistic. Furthermore, the actors, especially Olivier, tried to re-enact their real feelings in order to achieve a higher intensification of the audience's feelings and then to extract various emotional responses from it.

It is evident how psychological realism during acting, advocated primarily by Stanislavski,[317] had been influencing acting and productions of this period in general, and the Old Vic productions of *Oedipus Rex* in particular. We shall encounter the same realistic approach to the production of *Oedipus the King* in Alan Schneider's production of *Oedipus Rex* in Washington, D.C., 1950. There was, however, a substantial difference between the Old Vic and Schneider productions of this Greek tragedy; they used different versions. Whereas the Old Company used Yeats's version of *Oedipus*, Schneider made use of Fitts's and Fitzgerald's version of *Oedipus Rex*, a matter that will be the subject of our discussion in section 2.2. of this chapter.

2. Other English Versions, Translations and Productions of *Oedipus the King* between 1946 and 1959

2.1. The 1945/46-1950 years

While Saint-Denis and Laurence Olivier were presenting *Oedipus Rex* to the London and New York theatrical audiences, some new translations or reprints of older translations and productions of *Oedipus* appeared in the American TS. Whereas Truman's

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[317] For bibliographical references to Stanislavski's theories on acting see under "Stanislavski, Constantin," section B.2. of the Selected Bibliography of this dissertation.

Oedipus the King,[318] Watling's *King Oedipus*,[319] and Mullahy's *Oedipus Rex*[320] were the new translations that appeared in the metropolitan and provincial American markets, two older translations were reprinted in anthologies of Greek literature or drama. Yeats's version of *Sophocles' King Oedipus* was published in Dudley Fitts's *Greek Plays in Modern Translation* [321]; and Whitelaw's *Oedipus the King* in G. Jowe and G.A. Harrer's *Greek Literature in Translation*.[322] During the same period Cook's *Oedipus Rex* was produced at the Tributary Theatre of Boston. Due to the lack of any substantial information about this production, we can only say about this production that it may have been one of the first instances of this Sophoclean play being produced for an American regional audience. The script/translation of this production was first published nine years later in Lidd's anthology *Ten Greek Plays in Contemporary Translations*.[323]

In the new translations as well as in the reprints of the existing popular translations of *Oedipus the King*, we can detect a rekindled fascination of the English-speaking public with this Sophoclean tragedy, a fascination which was expressed only by theatrical productions during the years between the wars. Although this interest can be partly attributed to the successful Old Vic productions of *Oedipus Rex*, we should not forget that the Freudian interpretation of *Oedipus the King* must have had its share in it.[324] Although some Freudian theories had been translated into English as early as in 1913, it was only in the 1940s that Freud's discussion of the "Oedipus Complex" captured the attention of literary and theatre people,[325] and stirred a new interest of the English-speaking world in Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*. This view is strongly supported by the introductions and lay-out of two new translations: Truman's *Oedipus the King* and Mullahy's *Oedipus Rex*. On the one hand, in the Author's Note to his *Oedipus the King*, although he does not offer an explanation why he decided to translate this play, Truman refers overtly to the popularity of this tragedy in Applied Psychology (Truman vii and viii).

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[318] Nalham Elbert Truman, *Oedipus the King: A New Translation* (New York: Hobson Book P, 1946); hereafter it will be referred to as Truman.

[319] E.F. Watling, *King Oedipus. Sophocles: The Theban Plays* [The Penguin Classics L3] (Melbourne & Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1947) 25-68.

[320] Patrick Mullahy, *Oedipus Rex. Oedipus: Myth and Complex. A Review of Psychoanalytic Theory*, introduction by Erich Fromm (New York: Hermitage House, 1952) 341-96; henceforth it will be quoted as Mullahy.

[321] W.B. Yeats, "King Oedipus," *Greek Plays in Modern Translation*, ed. Dudley Fitts (New York: Dial P, 1947) 345-82.

[322] Robert Whitelaw, *Oedipus the King. Greek Literature in Translation*, eds. G. Jowe and G.A. Harrer (New York: Harper, 1948) 333-67.

[323] Albert Cook, *Oedipus Rex. Ten Greek Plays in Contemporary Translations*, ed. L.R. Lind (Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside P & Houghton Mifflin, 1957) 117-53. Information about the 1948 production of Cook's translation is taken from the most recent reprint of this translation; see Albert Cook, *Oedipus Rex: A Mirror for Greek Drama* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland P, 1982) 19-53. For a brief discussion of this script/translation see section 1.2.5. of Chapter V.

[324] Freud's interpretation of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*, or the "Oedipus Complex," as known in psychoanalysis, can be found primarily in: (1) Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams. The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Stratchey, vols 4 & 5 (London: The Hogarth P, & The Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1953); this work was originally written in 1900; and (2) Sigmund Freud, *The Ego and the Id. The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. by James Stratchey, vol. 19 (London: The Hogarth P, & The Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1953); it was originally written in 1923.

Moreover, Patrick Mullahy found it indispensable for his anthology of various psychoanalytic theories on the Oedipus myth and complex to translate for and append to it *The Oedipus Trilogy* which, of course, includes *Oedipus Rex* (Mullahy 339-506). When he was preparing the translation of *The Oedipus Trilogy*, he had a very specific readership in mind: those who had a strong interest in the psychoanalytical theories of the Oedipus myth and complex but might not have read the relevant Sophoclean tragedies.[326] As Erich Fromm points out in the Introduction to this collection, although ""Oedipus" became a household word familiar to everyone interested in psychology ... the familiarity of Oedipus' name did not necessarily include thorough knowledge of the Oedipus myth, and only a few take the trouble to read the trilogy of plays which is published in this volume" (Mullahy ii). Then praising the book, Fromm asserts that Mullahy's *The Oedipus Trilogy*, combining the text of the myth and a psychoanalytic discussion of its meaning, "tempts the reader to venture into Greek mythology and thus enables him to arrive at a deeper--and perhaps different--understanding of the "Oedipus complex." By arousing the reader's interest in *one* myth, the book may accomplish the even more important task of awakening the interest in symbolic language in general, which is language both myth and dream have in common. This language is one of man's basic modes of expression and we must understand it if we want to understand ourselves" (Mullahy ii). In this statement it is worth noting Fromm's emphasis on the reading of both the tragedies *Oedipus Rex*, *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Antigone* as translated by Mullahy, and of the latter's review of psychoanalytic theories on "Oedipus myth and complex." Fromm believed that this sort of reading would reveal the symbolic language, shared by myth (*Oedipus Rex* in this case) and dream (the psychoanalytic interpretation), and help the readers understand themselves better. Although phrased differently, the same attitude towards the symbolic of theatre and

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[325] See Frederick J. Hoffman, "Spread of Freud's Theory" and "Freudianism: American and English," *Freudianism and the Literary Mind* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State UP, 1957) 44-58 and 59-86 respectively.

[326] In the present context, *Oedipus Rex*, *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Antigone*; see Mullahy 341-96, 397-461 and 463-506 respectively.

Oedipus the King will be encountered in Alan Schneider's production of *Oedipus Rex* in 1950.[327]

Regarding Watling's translation *King Oedipus*, one of the three new translations of *Oedipus* from 1945/1946 to 1950, it became one of the most accessible translations of *Oedipus* to the average English reader, when it was published by the Penguin Classics in 1945. It was also destined to be one of the popular translations of this tragedy in the British and North American TSs up to the early 1980s, when Fagles's *Oedipus the King* first appeared in these markets,[328] and more particularly, when this new version was published by the Penguin Classics in 1982. But a comparison between Watling's *King Oedipus* and Fagles's *Oedipus the King* will be made later,[329] when Robert Fagles's translation *Oedipus the King* and its impact on the contemporary English-speaking public is studied in some detail.

2.2. Fitt's and Fitzgerald's *Oedipus Rex* and its production by Alan Schneider at Catholic University in Washington, D.C.

A year after Cook's *Oedipus Rex* had been produced in Boston and two years after Dudley Fitts had reprinted Yeats's version of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus in his anthology *Greek Plays in Modern Translation*, a new translation of the same play was published simultaneously in London and New York as *Oedipus Rex: An English Version* in 1949 and 1950. This translation was the result of the co-operation of two well-known classical scholars and translators of Greek plays, Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald.[330] This translation was, first of all, to be produced almost immediately upon its publication by Alan Schneider at Catholic University, Washington, D.C., in 1950, and, second, to become one of the most influential translations of *Oedipus the King* in the English-speaking world during the second half of the twentieth century.[331]

What may first strike us in this translation is its subtitle *An English Version* that sounds very similar to Yeats's subtitle of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus*: A Version for the*

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[327] For a discussion of Alan Schneider's production of *Oedipus Rex* see section 2.2. of this chapter.

[328] See: (1) Robert Fagles, *Oedipus the King. Sophocles: The Three Theban Plays*, introduction and notes by B.W. Knox (New York: The Viking P, 1982) 137-232; and (2) Robert Fagles, *Oedipus the King. Sophocles: The Three Theban Plays*, introduction and notes by B. Knox (London: Penguin, 1984) 155-251.

[329] See sections 2.1. and 2.1.1. of Chapter V.

[330] Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald, *Oedipus Rex: An English Version. Sophocles: The Oedipus Cycle* (London: Faber & Faber, 1949/1950); and Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald, *Oedipus Rex: An English Version. Sophocles: The Oedipus Cycle* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1949). All the quotations in the present section are taken from the edition Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald, *Oedipus Rex: An English. Sophocles: The Oedipus Cycle. Version* (New York & London: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1977) 1-78; hereafter it will be quoted as Fitts and Fitzgerald.

[331] See also section 1.2.3. of Chapter V and section C.3. of the Selected Bibliography.

Modern Stage. However, it is fundamentally different. As discussed, when he was working on *Sophocles'* King Oedipus, Yeats had in mind a very specific cast of Irish players, a very specific theatre (the Abbey Theatre, Dublin), and his contemporary Dublin theatrical audience.[332] Thus he wrote his version primarily for a stage performance, as the subtitle clearly states. Unlike Yeats, Fitts and Fitzgerald wrote their version of *Oedipus* with a wider readership in mind, without excluding the possibility of their translation to be produced. Their perception of what a translation of Sophoclean tragedy is and their definition of the word "version," can only be inferred from the commentaries on *Oedipus at Colonus* made by Fitzgerald and that on *Antigone* made by both Fitts and Fitzgerald (Fitts and Fitzgerald 171-81 and 239-44 respectively).

In his Commentary on *Oedipus at Colonus*, Fitzgerald observes that "[f]or those who do not read Greek, good English renderings of Sophocles are rare. Likely to be most available are the translations made forty years ago by R.C. Jebb. They are painstaking but give little or no idea of the quality of the originals" (Fitts and Fitzgerald 171). Furthermore, he asserts that "[t]he quality of Sophocles cannot be rendered in the English of the King James Bible. Neither can it be rendered in the English of Bernard Shaw, of Maxwell Anderson or of Philip Barry. Rendered well, it would seem equally acceptable English to Jonathan Swift and to Ernest Hemingway. It can be exactly rendered only in what might be called the English of Sophocles. This requisite furnishes the translator with the fascination of what is, strictly speaking, impossible. I am merely prepared to assure the reader that this version is not a paraphrase or an adaptation, and that it is intended above all as a just representation of the Greek" (Fitts and Fitzgerald 177).

In these statements, Robert Fitzgerald addresses several issues on translation and, then, offers us his own definition of "version." First, he states that he made this translation keeping in mind the average reader who does not know classical Greek and whom he would not drive to the library (Fitts and Fitzgerald 179). Second, Fitzgerald tackles the necessity and importance of new translations of old texts like Greek tragedies if new generations are to understand them. Thus, he asserts that his own *Oedipus Rex* rendered in good English cannot only be understood by his contemporary English-speaking public, but also bring this public closer to the original text. Third, Fitzgerald also articulates the struggle and frustrations of most translators who try to make classical Greek tragedy intelligible to a contemporary audience.[333] Of course, with his last comment, Fitzgerald raises one of the most fundamental questions in translation studies: that of untranslatability,[334] which he mentions only in passing when he simply expresses his longing for an exact rendering of Sophocles that can be called "the English of Sophocles" (Fitts and Fitzgerald 177).

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[332] See section 3.3., Chapter III.

[333] Here we should mention that the translational problems discussed by Fitzgerald are encountered by any translator who tries to transfer any ancient text regardless of origins, such as Summerian, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, into his/her own period.

Finally, he offers his own definition of the word "version" used as the subtitle of his *Oedipus Rex*. To him, "version is not a paraphrase or adaptation" but "a just representation of Greek" (Fitts and Fitzgerald 177). We may wonder why a classical scholar, like Fitzgerald, took great pains to explain the term "version" in his subtitle. We can comprehend his attitude only if we recall that, on the one hand, Jebb's translation *The Oedipus Tyrannus* was the most authoritative version of *Oedipus the King*,[335] and, on the other hand, Yeats's *Sophocles' King Oedipus*, extremely popular at that time, also had the word "version" in its subtitle. Hence, when Fitzgerald claims that his "version is not a paraphrase or adaptation," he wants to make clear to his readers that his "version" is quite different from Jebb's and Yeats's. His "version" would be neither a paraphrase like Jebb's[336] nor an adaptation "for the Modern Stage" like Yeats's.

As noted earlier, Fitts and Fitzgerald wrote their *Oedipus Rex* for a wider readership, yet we should not think that they were not concerned at all with the theatrical aspects of their translation. On the contrary, they discuss in detail how they imagine a performance of their translation should be. Their opinion can be deduced only from their commentaries appended to *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Antigone*, for there is no commentary appended to *Oedipus Rex*.[337]

In a succinct discussion about classical Greek theatre, Fitzgerald mentions the existing obscurity covering the nature of the chorus (*χορός: choros*) of Greek tragedy, that is the chorus' dancing and singing in unison,[338] and tries to relate it to the text of his own translation of *Oedipus at Colonus*:

> For all the vigor of The Dance in our period, I should fear the effect of my choreography on the unity of a Greek play in performance. As for the singing, more is perhaps possible. In the

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[334] For a concise discussion of the controversy surrounding the notion of untranslatability see: (1) Susan Bassnett, "Untranslatability," *Translation Studies* (London Methuen, 1980) 32-37; and (2) Gideon Toury, *In Search of a Theory of Translation* (Tel Aviv: The Porter Institute, 1980).

[335] As discussed in section 3.1.1., Chapter III,, Jebb's *The Oedipus Tyrannus* dominated both the British and North American markets for almost a century. When Fitts and Fitzgerald first translated *Oedipus Rex*, the most authoritative translation of this tragedy was Jebb's.

[336] In translation studies "paraphrase" is usually considered a word-for-word (or a literal) translation of a text.

[337] Whereas the Commentary on *Oedipus at Colonus* was written only by Fitzgerald, the Commentary on *Antigone* was written by both Fitts and Fitzgerald, as mentioned earlier. See Fitts and Fitzgerald 171-81 and 239-44 respectively.

[338] These issues have already been discussed in section 1.2.3.2., Chapter II.

> Abbey Theatre production of Yeats's *Oedipus the King* the choruses were chanted by singers trained in Gregorian music, and the effect is said to have been impressive. Yet, since I have no trustworthy theater or singing group in mind, I have left this version of *Oedipus at Colonus* almost bare of suggestions for its production; and I have called the choruses choral poems, thinking that if the play were staged it would be luck enough to have them well spoken. (Fitts and Fitzgerald 173)

Moreover, he makes a very conscious effort to relate the written text of his *Oedipus at Colonus* to a possible stage performance. Nonetheless, he is not convinced that his choreography and the singing of his choruses would be successful when put on stage. In this context, of course, Fitzgerald does not pretend to be a "real" choreographer or musician; he rather refers to his stage directions or "suggestions," as he calls them, about the movement and singing of the chorus.[339]

Another surprising remark in the preceding quotation is Fitzgerald's reference to the 1926 production of Yeats's *Sophocles'* King Oedipus at the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, and his acknowledgment that with the 1926 Abbey production of *Oedipus* it was for the first time that the English-speaking world experienced such a successful performance of choral odes sung in unison. He attributes this success to the fact that the members of the Chorus were trained singers.[340] Moreover, he makes two other interesting observations. First, he claims that he cut down his "suggestions" or stage directions to the minimum because he had not had any "trustworthy theater or singing group in mind." In other words, he followed exactly the opposite technique to that which Yeats had followed. At this point of our discussion, and from the translator's or adapter's point of view, we can discern the existing correlation between the information that a translator has about a (possible) stage performance of his/her translation and the process of making a translation. We can claim that the more knowledge a translator has about the performance of his/her translation, the more cuts s/he may be willing to make in his/her translation in order to make it more suitable for a stage performance. In contrast, the less s/he knows about a possible performance of his/her translation, the less risky s/he is to experiment with the text or the more reluctant s/he becomes to make drastic cuts.

But let us return once again to Fitzgerald's comments on the Sophoclean choruses. He holds that they are "choral poems, thinking that if the play were staged it would be luck enough to have them well spoken" (Fitts and Fitzgerald 173). Coming from a classical scholar, the strong conviction that the choruses cannot be sung in unison in a modern performance is surprising, and can be interpreted either as a distrust of his contemporary producers and productions of Greek tragedies or as his conscious effort towards a realistic representation of Greek tragedies.

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[339] These stage directions are incorporated in the translation of *Oedipus Rex* in italics. The same practice is followed in almost all the translations of *Oedipus the King* that we have encountered up to now.

[340] Yeats's choral odes in his *Sophocles'* King Oedipus have been either exalted or severely criticized by literary and theatre scholars. Although we have tried to provide a rationale for Yeats's drastic cuts in the choral odes and show their importance for different disciplines in sections 3.3. and 3.3.1. of Chapter III, we shall discuss this issue once again in section 2.3. of this chapter but from a different angle.

We have just drawn attention to "the realistic representation of Greek tragedies" to emphasize something that becomes much clearer when read with the parts IV and V of the Commentary on *Antigone*. In part IV of their Commentary on *Antigone*, Fitts and Fitzgerald concern themselves once again with the stage production of the chorus:

> The Chorus is composed, says the Scholiast, of "certain old men of Thebes": leading citizens ... Sophocles' Chorus numbered fifteen, including the Choragos, or Leader; its function was to chant the Odes and, in the person of the Choragos, to participate in the action. In a version designed for a modern stage certain changes are inevitable. It cannot be urged too strongly that the words of the Odes must be intelligible to the audience; and they are almost certain not to be intelligible if they are chanted in unison by so large a group, with or without musical accompaniment. It is suggested, then, that in producing this play no attempt be made to follow the ancient choric method. There should be no dancing. The *Párodos*, for example, should be a solemn but almost unnoticeable evolution of moving or still patterns accompanied by a drumbeat whose rhythm may be derived from the cadence of the Ode itself. The lines given to the Chorus in the Odes should probably be spoken by single voices. The only accompaniment should be percussion: we follow Alan Sly's score of the *Alcestis* in suggesting a large side drum from which the snares have been removed, to be struck with two felt-headed tympani sticks, one hard, one soft. (Fitts and Fitzgerald 242-43)

In this discussion, there are some very intriguing views on the possible performance of the chorus of Greek tragedy. First, the translators' firm belief becomes conspicuous once again that the chorus cannot either sing or dance in unison, and, thus, no "ancient choric method" should be followed. Coming from well-established classicists and translators, this suggestion can be an obstacle to producers when taken literally. Second, if Fitts's and Fitzgerald's position that the lines of the choral odes "should probably be spoken by single voices"[341] is "translated" into stage performance, it changes drastically the function of the chorus in Greek tragedy. As mentioned earlier,[342] the members of the chorus in Greek tragedies did not respond individually but rather sang and danced in unison because they represented not individual citizens but the city as whole; and this choral response was one of the most fundamentally public aspects of Greek tragedy. Now, if the chorus starts to respond in single voices, as Fitts and Fitzgerald suggest, then the response comes from individuals, not from the city as a whole.[343] This attitude may be more relevant to a twentieth-century English theatrical audience, but it was alien to its fifth-century Greek counterpart. It is in this statement that we can sense these translators' effort to bring Greek tragedy in general and *Oedipus the King* in particular closer to their time and, eventually, to their contemporary readership and theatrical audience.

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[341] Fitts and Fitzgerald 242.

[342] See section 1.2.3.2., Chapter II.

[343] Nevertheless, some readers and critics could argue that the individual chorus members can speak for the chorus and thus for the city.

In part V of the same commentary on their version of *Antigone*, Fitts and Fitzgerald also discuss and make their own suggestions about the use or non-use of masks in a contemporary production of Greek tragedy.

> A careful production might make successful use of masks. They could be of the Benda Type used in the production of O'Neill's *The Great God Brown*, lifelike, closely fitting the contours of the face, and valuable only as they give the effect of immobility to character. On no account should there be any attempt to reproduce the Greek mask, which was larger than life size and served a function non-existent on the modern stage--the amplification of voice and mood for projection to the distant seats of the outdoor theater.
>
> If masks are used at all, they might well be allotted only to these characters who are somewhat depersonalized by official position or discipline: Creon, Teiresias, the Chorus and Choragos, possibly the Messenger. By this rule, Antigonê has no mask; neither has Ismenê, Haimon, nor Eurydicê. If Creon is masked, we see no objection, in art or feeling, to the symbolic removal of his mask before he returns with the dead body of his son. (Fitts and Fitzgerald 243)

In such a statement Fitts's and Fitzgerald's strong disapproval of the use of "larger than life size" masks and their belief that any contemporary production of Greek tragedy can use masks successfully if and only if the masks are "lifelike" come as a surprise. Perhaps what astonishes more is that this statement does not come out of the mouth of a realist producer but of two scholars who knew all the archaeological and philological theories and controversies surrounding the making and use of masks in classical Greece.[344] One explanation for Fitts's and Fitzgerald's position may be that larger-than-life masks had not been experimented with, and, therefore, they did not have any function on the modern stage up to that time.

Furthermore, Fitts and Fitzgerald strongly advise a combination of use and non-use of masks, if masks have to be used in a production at all; that is depersonalized characters, could wear lifelike masks, whereas principal characters should not. Finally, they suggest that Creon, who is a depersonalized character by official position and thus wearing a mask, could take it off when he returns with Haimon's dead body.

In Fitts's and Fitzgerald's discussion of masks, three different dynamics can be discerned. First, the presence of realism in contemporary American plays and theatrical productions. Second, the symbolic representation of certain attitudes and actions; for instance, the wearing of masks signifies the depersonalization of certain characters. Finally, the existence of an ongoing discussion in theatrical and literary circles of both theatrical effectiveness and historical accuracy in productions of Greek tragedies.

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[344] For a discussion of the use of masks in Greek tragedy see section 1.2.3.3., Chapter II of this dissertation.

Realism was advocated by the romantics[345] and introduced primarily by Ibsen and the naturalists. It had been widened and intensified by Stanislavsky's theories on acting.[346] As early as 1923, Edmund Wilson described the Stanislavskian method of acting:

> It is this extremely difficult formula which the Russians have brought to perfection in the theatre. ... They present a surface so perfectly convincing as realism that we can scarcely believe when we leave the theatre that we have not been actual visitors in a Russian household and stood watching the family go about its business; but at the same time they bring out a whole set of aesthetic values to which we are not accustomed in the realistic theatre; the beauty and poignance of an atmosphere, of an idea, a person, a moment caught and put before us without emphasis, without that which we recognize as theatrical, but with brightness of the highest art.[347]

Stanislavsky's theory that performers should act as if they were expressing their real feelings was considered the most fundamental rule of acting and producing plays in America when Fitts and Fitzgerald made their version of *Oedipus Rex*. The ultimate consequence of the realistic and Stanislavskian performing method was the certainty that the realistic representation of a text could bring it closer to and be understood better by its contemporary audience. It was believed that as soon as the playing space (stage) became a mirror in which the audience could be reflected, the audience could perceive better what had been enacted on stage. It was out of this theatrical and literal context that Fitts's and Fitzgerald's comments upon masks come.

As far as Fitts's and Fitzgerald's second point is concerned--that is, Creon who, if masked, should take off his mask before he returns with the dead body of his son as a symbolic act--denotes that various symbolic, ritualistic and psychoanalytic interpretations of tragedy were still very influential. Finally, the discussion by these two scholars and translators of the advantages and disadvantages of the use of masks sheds some light upon the ongoing debate in theatrical and literary circles about the theatrical effectiveness, and thus acceptability, or historical accuracy in the production of Greek tragedies in the late 1940s and the early 1950s.

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[345] See for instance Stendhal's *Racine et Shakespeare*.

[346] Constantin Stanislavski, *An Actor Prepares*, trans. Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1936).

[347] Quoted from Christine Edwards, *The Stanislavsky Heritage* (London: Peter Owen, 1965) 234. For more bibliographical information about Stanislavski see section B.2. of the Selected Bibliography.

We will now try to demonstrate the remarkable parallelism between Fitts's and Fitzgerald's perception of a possible production of any of their versions of Greek tragedies,[348] as we have inferred them from the commentaries of these translators, and the first production of their *Oedipus Rex* by Alan Schneider in Washington, D.C., 1950.

As discussed earlier, Fitts's and Fitzgerald's version of *Oedipus Rex* was published simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic (London and New York) in 1949, and then in various big cities in the U.S.A., such as New York, Chicago, San Francisco and Atlanta.[349] On 17 March 1950, this translation was first staged by the theatre director Alan Schneider at Catholic University, Washington, D.C.[350] Trying to explain the reasons why he had chosen Fitts's and Fitzgerald's *Oedipus Rex*, Schneider claimed that, compared to the "too-old-fashioned and literary" rendering by Murray, the "too uneven" translation by Jebb, and Yeats's "flowery and ornate" version of *Oedipus*, Fitts's and Fitzgerald's version of this Sophoclean play was "lean and sinewy, like a javelin in the air" (Hawkins 165-66). To him this version was the most direct and least complicated of those available and, thus, could serve the purpose of his production: to make this play comprehensible to a modern regional audience. It is worth noticing that Schneider's intentions coincide with Fitzgerald's who, if we recall his previous remarks, translated *Oedipus Rex*, *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Antigone* to make these tragedies intelligible to a modern public.

Beside this convergence of intentions between the translators (Fitts and Fitzgerald) and the first American director of their translation (Schneider), there is also an extraordinary similarity between their perception of how a Greek tragedy should be produced. To unravel this remarkable parallelism, we need to examine Schneider's directing method and personal perception of Greek tragedy, and how he combined and applied the two to his production of *Oedipus the King* in 1950.

According to Lewis E. Shelton, around the 1950s Schneider started formulating a different approach to plays. Whereas up to then he had been primarily concerned with the mechanics of staging and the dramatic action as an event, in the early 1950s Schneider became more interested in character delineation which depended upon the character's relation to the action in the play, to the character's objectives and to the character's relationship to other characters (Hawkins 276). To put it another way, he was preoccupied with the question of how an actor could portray a character on the stage, and how the relationships among different characters could be presented in a psychologically sound way during the performance. In an interview with Professor John A. Hawkins, Schneider describes the efforts of these years in the following terms:

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[348] In this context it is meant *Oedipus Rex*, *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Antigone*, as included in Fitts and Fitzgerald 1-78, 79-170 and 183-238 respectively.

[349] See under "Fitts, Dudley and Robert Fitzgerald" in section C.3. of the Selected Bibliography.

[350] This part of my dissertation has been completed only because Professor John A. Hawkins (Drama Department, University of Alberta) allowed me to use Chapter Five, Appendices A, B and C of his Ph.D. Dissertation, "A Critical Biography of Alan Schneider" (Diss. Tufts University, 1978) 159-96, 276-83, 284-300 respectively. Hereafter they will be referred to as Hawkins.

> I work from a thematic line; I work from the actions of the characters. I work from beats. My *text* is now studded with beats instead of little squiggles about somebody crossing Up Left, or of somebody standing of the step. I'm not really concerned with whether they stand or sit, although I can do that. I'm concerned about what is happening in that little section that we call a beat. (Hawkins 161)

To capture that beat and to be able to extract the psychological reality of a character out of his actors, Schneider did not start with the question "What is this character like?" but with "What does this character want?" By asking this question, he was able to lead his actors to discover motivations in the characters that they were impersonating rather than suggested attitudes (Hawkins 161-62).

Schneider was lucky to have the opportunity to test these directing methods when he directed Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* in Fitts's and Fitzgerald's translation at the Catholic University in March 1950. In his rough notes for an address, "Producing a Greek Play for a Modern Audience," he gives details about his approach to *Oedipus the King*. Trying to find a solution to the paradox of why "everybody says Greek plays are the greatest, but they are rarely done, rarely seen, and rarely come off as the greatest,"[351] Schneider approached *Oedipus the King* as a theatrical problem rather than as a historical or cultural one; in other words *Oedipus*, like any other play, should "be clear, effective, relevant, stimulating, meaningful, entertaining" to "the local situation" (Hawkins 162 and 164 respecively). But how could he make *Oedipus the King* effective and relevant to the regional theatrical audience of Washington (D.C.), if he would not find a way to bring this austere classical tragedy closer to this audience? Believing that "the local situation is always a human being in a human environment dealing with a human problem,"[352] and that this situation can always be conveyed, Schneider did not use masks in this production at all, as illustrated in *Picture 17*, and he made the Chorus "assume personality" (Hawkins 163).

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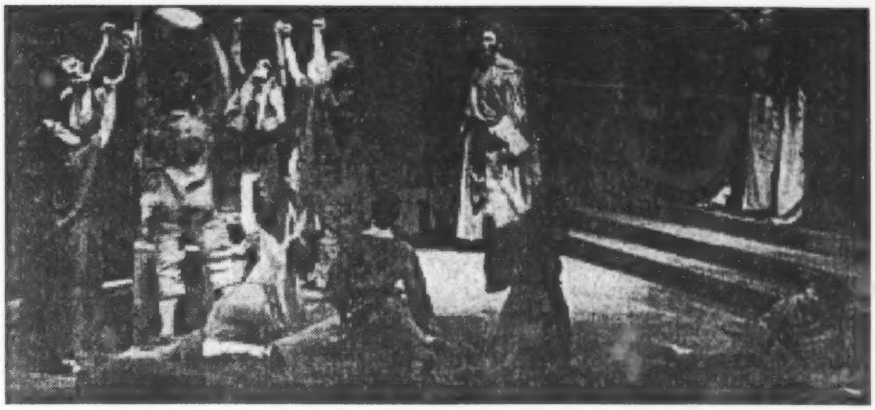
[351] Hawkins 164.

[352] Hawkins 164.



Picture 17. The Chorus at Oedipus' palace.[353]

On the one hand, by not using masks in his production of *Oedipus the King*, Schneider wanted the leading characters to be "strongly-developed, clearly defined ... individuals, human beings. Not conventional posturings, attitudes, conventions. Real ... Always striving for sense of life underlying what we saw and heard,"[354] and, of course, to be performed as such. On the other hand, the actors had to express their feelings not only with their voice and body movements but also with their faces. They had to convey their real situation with their facial expressions. Finally, challenged by the feelings expressed and enacted on the stage, the audience could be able to understand the limitations of their own individuality and their own individual frailty. In this way, *Oedipus the King*, a tragedy performed almost twenty-five centuries ago, would deepen their understanding of life and make them see themselves in a new light.[355]

We may now wonder what Schneider means by saying that he made the Chorus "assume personality," and how he realized it dramatically (textually) and theatrically. In his rough notes "Producing a Greek Play for a Modern Audience," he writes:

> [I] made all [of the chorus] assume personality, relationships, motivations, etc.--crippled, bold, timid, confused, friends, etc. Problem of their being on [stage] throughout ... Took offstage once changed from Theban elders to group of townspeople ... More interesting ... In a sense, the bridge between the audience and play. (Hawkins, 165)

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[353] This picture is part of the unpublished material related to Schneider's production of *Oedipus the King* that Professor John A. Hawkins allowed me to use in my dissertation.

[354] Hawkins 166.

[355] Actually, this is part of Schneider's perception of theatre. In an interview with Professor Hawkins, Schneider refers to the universal, transcendental, and humanistic aspects of theatre, which allow us to understand both the world surrounding us and ourselves better; for this interview see Hawkins 284-91.

Also in "A Note on This Production," which appeared in the program of the Schneider production of *Oedipus the King* in 1950, Schneider states:

> In an effort to make the play meaningful and relevant to a modern audience, the present production has stressed these primitive and elemental aspects of the play. ... That is why we have shifted the play back in time to a ritualistic and tribal Thebes instead of a sophisticated Greek city state. And that is why we have substituted for the original chorus of Theban elders chanting and moving in unison, a group of townspeople. Thus we have the formal element of chorus but suggested the reactions of individual personalities.[356]

To achieve that, Schneider used not only every possible contemporary realistic theatrical technique, such as no use of masks at all, contemporary costuming (as shown in *Picture 17*, but also one particularly dramatic technique: whenever the Chorus was supposed to sing in unison, each member responded individually.[357] This dramatic technique only intensified what was being presented on stage, and confirmed what had already been stressed in "A Note on This Production." An interesting aspect of this production is that Schneider's theatrical and dramatic practice, especially the non-use of masks and the distribution of each sentence of the choral odes to individual actors, coincides with Fitts's and Fitzgerald's suggestion that "[t]he lines given to the Chorus in the Odes should probably be spoken by single voices" (Fitts and Fitzgerald 242).

Undoubtedly, the Schneider production of *Oedipus the King*, although performed by students, created such a sensation for the Washington audience that it was recommended "for presentation in other Dramatic groups,"[358] and exerted a great deal of artistic influence upon other producers like Zelda Fichandler (Hawkins 163).

But now let us turn our attention to Sir Tyrone Guthrie, an Irish producer, who used two of the very basic elements of production of Greek tragedy to which Fitts and Fitzgerald and Schneider were strongly opposed: the larger-than-life masks and the chorus singing in unison. By doing that, Guthrie succeeded in giving a different perspective to *Oedipus Rex*, when he produced it at the Stratford Festival, Ontario, in 1954 and 1955, and in having a lasting impact upon the perception and reception of this Sophoclean tragedy by the English-speaking world since the late 1950s.

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[356] "A Note of This Production" is part of the unpublished material that Professor Hawkins gave me to use in this section of my dissertation.

[357] This dramatic technique and theatrical realization can only be inferred from Schneider's unpublished manuscript on the choral odes, in which we can see not only how he adapted some of Fitts's and Fitzgerald's choruses but also his stage directions about which actor is to say which sentence from each ode.

[358] This is also part of the unpublished material that Professor Hawkins allowed me very kindly to use in this study.

2.3. Yeats's version of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus and the Stratford Shakespearean Festival productions of *Oedipus Rex*

Apart from the Old Vic production of *Oedipus Rex* in New York (1946) and Schneider's in Washington, D.C. (1950), it was Guthrie's production of *Oedipus Rex* at the Stratford Shakespearean Festival, Ontario, in 1954 and 1955 that changed drastically the perception and reception of this tragedy by the English-speaking world in the late 1950s. These productions were a very risky undertaking for both the newly-established festival and the newly-arrived British director Tyrone Guthrie.[359]

On the one hand, it was a risky enterprise for the Stratford Shakespearean Festival because, born out of the enthousiasm of a group of local businessmen anxious to do for Canada what Stratford-upon-Avon had done for England, the Stratford Festival had opened with Guthrie's production of *Richard III* and *All's Well that Ends Well* with Alec Guiness playing in the leading roles, as a stellar attraction. The theatre itself was still a tent of a huge canvas and concrete structure. Within the canvas of this theatre, Tanya Moisiewitsch, Guthrie's long-time designer and collaborator, created a neutral playing area: a polygonal, three-sided thrust stage which was backed by a screen and enclosed by 16 seating tiers of seats. An illustration of the initial structure of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival Theatre, as it appeared in the 1954 and 1955 productions of *Oedipus Rex*, can be seen in the following picture:

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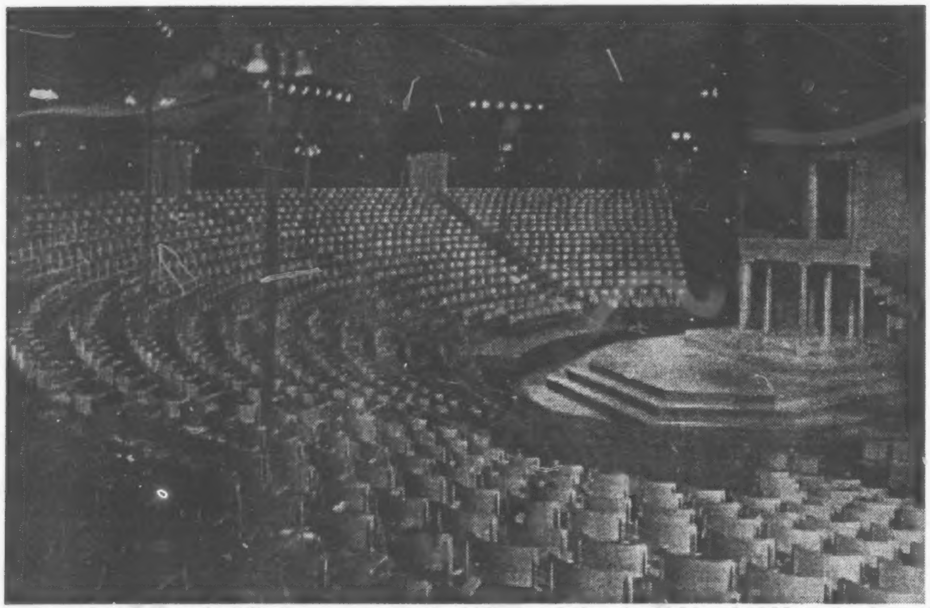
[359] We have mentioned the name of Sir Tyrone Guthrie in the 1945 Old Vic production of *Oedipus Rex*; see section 1 of this chapter. It was he who first suggested to Saint-Denis and Sir Laurence Olivier to use Yeats's version of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus for the 1945, and, consequently, for the 1946 Old Vic productions of *Oedipus Rex* in New York.



Picture 18. The Stratford Shakespearean Festival Theatre during the 1954 and 1955 productions of *Oedipus Rex*.[360]

In this location, in which the perspective and spacial arrangements were roughly approximated to a Greek theatre if "translated" to an indoor setting, *Oedipus Rex* took shape. The translation chosen was Yeats's version of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus, clean-cut, actable and austerely poetic. It was a highly accessible rendering and as such desirable for an average English-speaking audience whose acquaintance with Greek tragedy in performance was likely to have been minimal. For box-office reasons, the role of Oedipus was played by James Mason in the 1954 production. But this role and the vocal demands of Greek tragedy, very different from those of screen acting, caused Mason to be severely criticized for inaudibility.[361] Then it was decided that Douglas Campbell, who had previously played the role of the Man from Corinth, would take over the role of Oedipus in the 1955 Stratford production of *Oedipus Rex*.[362] Nevertheless, the change in cast was not without effect upon the box-office of the 1955 Stratford production of *Oedipus Rex*. As John Pettigrew and Jamie Portman report, "[C]ampbell's Oedipus was generally preferred to Mason's as being grander and more vital and full-blooded. However, there were empty seats in the opening night, and attendance for the production during the season pulled down the records of previous years to 91 per cent" (Pettigrew and Portman 110).

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[360] Taken from *Reference Data on The Stratford Shakespearean Festival: Third Annual Season of Drama, June 27-Ausgust 27. Inaugural Season of Music, July 9-August 6 1955*, n. pag.

[361] John Pettigrew and Jamie Portman, *Stratford: The First Thirty Years. 1953-1967* vol. 1 (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1985) 101-103 and 110; hereafter it will be referred to as Pettigrew and Portman.

[362] Campbell was also the actor who performed the role of Oedipus in the Stratford production of *Oedipus Rex* at the Edinburgh Festival in 1956.

On the other hand, directing the production of *Oedipus Rex* at the Stratford Shakespearean Festival was one of the riskiest endeavours in Guthrie's career because of two different but overlapping conditions existing in the contemporary theatrical world. First, as discussed earlier, there was an ongoing debate about the production of Greek tragedy: should such a production be theatrically effective or historically accurate?[363] There was a common belief that a production of Greek tragedy could be theatrically effective only if realistic means were used in the production. Realistic means meant that during the performance the actors should not wear masks in order to express their real feelings with their facial expressions, body movements and their voice. Moreover, the properties should also be realistic, imitating either pre-classical Greece or the surroundings of a classical Greek state. We have discussed the applications of these theories to the Old Vic productions of *Oedipus Rex* in 1945 and 1946 and the Schneider production of Oedipus the King in 1950. The prevailing assumption in these productions was that the more realistic a production of Greek tragedy was, the closer it would be to the contemporary English (British and North American) theatrical audience. It was in this literary and theatrical context, and while classical scholars and translators, like Dudley Fitts and Fitzgerald,[364] and producers, like Saint-Denis and Schneider, were advocating a realistic approach to the production of Greek tragedy, that Tyrone Guthrie tried to combine theatrical effectiveness and historical accuracy in his production of *Oedipus Rex* at the Stratford Shakespearean Festival, and thus risk his career.

When first suggested, the Straford *Oedipus* had been envisioned as an additional item in the season, to be performed in rehearsal dress. In the actual performance, however, it assumed a much more elaborate form. Fascinated by the possibilities of recreating the original Greek festival experience in a modern festival context and influenced by the psychiatric studies of Ernest Jones,[365] Guthrie did not only want this production to be historically accurate but also theatrically effective. Unlike Fitts-Fitzgerald and Schneider,[366] Guthrie did not think that Greek tragedy had to be realistically objectified on stage in order to be theatically effective. And, even though he believed, as Schneider did,[367] that the universality of theatre can transcend time and place, Guthrie also viewed theatre as ritual. To comprehend Guthrie's position and fully realize the radical difference between theatrical realism and theatre perceived as ritual, let us consider one of the most succinct statements made by Guthrie about theatre as ritual. "I believe that the Theatre makes its effect not by means of illusion, but by Ritual. People do not believe that what they see and hear in the theatre is "really" happening. Action on the stage is a stylized re-enactment of real action, which is then imagined by the audience. The re-enactment is not merely an imitation but a symbol of the real thing."[368] It was this belief that made him see Oedipus and the Chorus not as individuals but as symbols. Hence, he utilized presentational means derived from the Greek theatre, such as masks and fully-costumed actors, to heighten interpretation and to submerge the personality of the individual actor within the larger proportion of the role and symbolic purpose.

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[363] See section 2.2. of this chapter in which the issue of theatrical effectiveness of the production of *Oedipus the King* has been presented in relation to Schneider's production of the same tragedy in Washington, D.C., in 1950.

[364] Their conviction of how Greek tragedy should be performed has been discussed in section 2.2. of the present chapter.

[365] Ernest Jones, *Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis* (London & Vienna: The International Psycho-Analytical P, 1923).

[366] As discussed in section 2.2. of this chapter.

In the light of this interpretation and in the physical, quasi-Greek context of the Stratford playhouse, as illuminated in *Picture 18*, masks naturally suggested themselves. Guthrie and Moiseiwitsch's willingness to present the play as ritual, with the least intrusion of human personality, made them use several interesting expedients, such as a great variation of masks, costumes derived from Greek models, and fully-costumed players whose limbs and flesh were not seen. As we can see in *Picture 19*, the performers, without any exception, wore masks which prevented any play of features, primarily facial expressions. The only difference between the principal actors, who played Oedipus, Jocasta and Creon, and the rest was that the former wore *kothornoi*[369] integrated according to that time's traditional picture of the Greek tragic actor: high-soled boots that raised the actors several inches above the floor and the masks gave them superhuman stature. If we look at the botton of *Picture 19*, we can see the *kothornoi* worn by Oedipus and, consequently, have an idea how the *kothornoi* used in those productions looked like.

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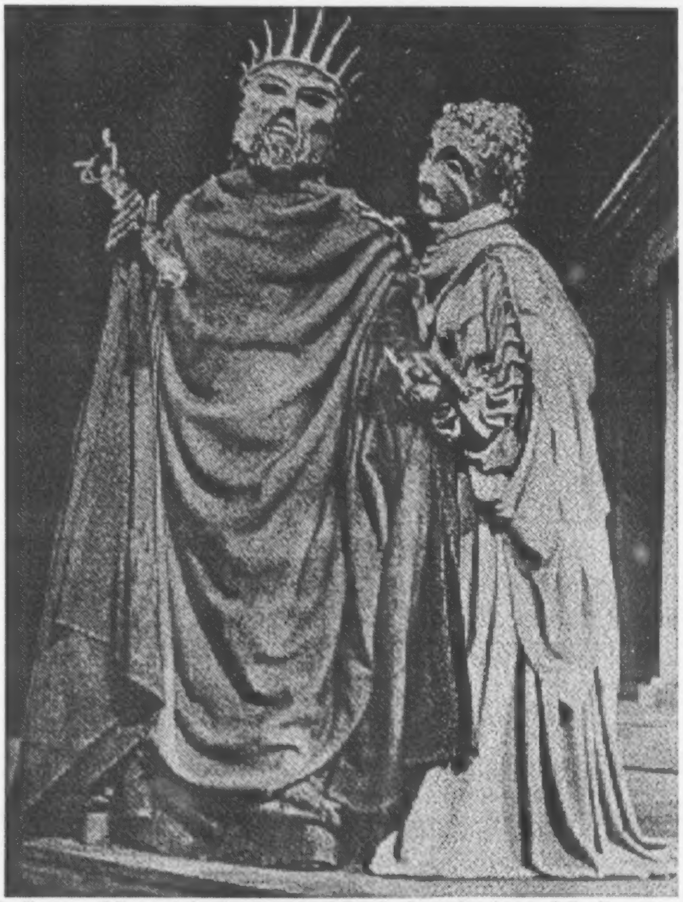
[367] As discussed in 2.2. of the present chapter.

[368] Tyrone Guthrie, "A Long View of the Stratford Festival," *Twice Have the Trampets Sounded*, eds. Tyrone Guthrie, Robertson Davies and Grant Macdonald (Toronto: Clarke & Irwin, 1954) 192. For a discussion of Guthrie's theory on theatre as ritual see also: (1) Tyrone Guthrie, *A Life in the Theatre* (New York, Toronto & London: McGraw-Hill Book, 1959) 349-350; and (2) Tyrone Guthrie, "Theatre as Ritual" *In Various Directions: A View of Theatre* (London: Michael Joseph, 1965) 22-39.

[369] We have already discussed the scholarly controversy surrounding the use of *kothonoi* in classical Greek tragedy; see section 1.2.3.3., Chapter II.



Picture 19. Oedipus and Jocasta in the Stratford Festival productions of *Oedipus Rex*.[370]

Regarding the extra inches added to the main characters by the *kothornoi*, Robertson Davies observes that "[t]hese oppurtenances gave them almost an extra foot in height. Thus they appeared to us as beings of a greater consequence than the Chorus, who wore masks only, and the Chorus in their turn were greater than the Suppliants, whose masks were meagre and had little stamp of character. "Tragedy concerneth a high fellow," said Sir Philip Sydney, and in this production we were left in no doubt as to who were high fellows and who were underlings."[371] The statuesque of the main characters, like Oedipus, is also clearly shown in *Picture 20*, which presents Oedipus conversing with the Chorus.

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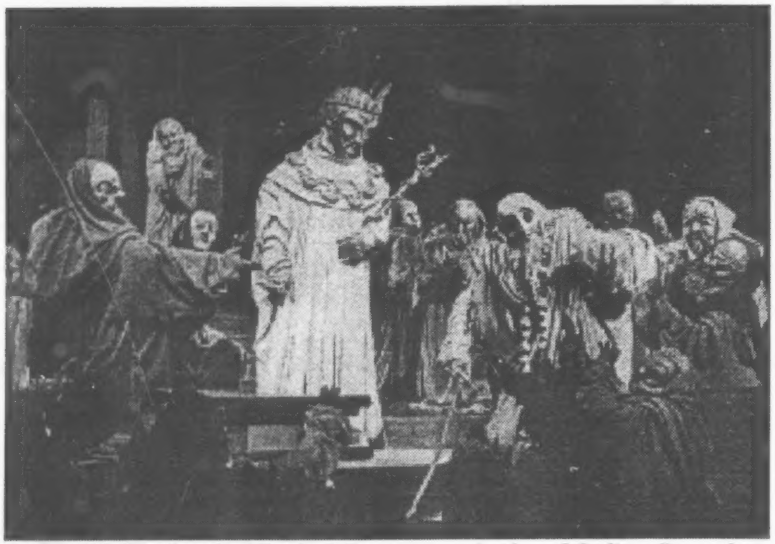
[370] Taken from the front page of the *Essays in Theatre* 2.1 (1983).

[371] Robertson Davies, "*Oedipus Rex*," *Twice Have the Trumpets Sounded*, eds. Tyrone Guthrie, Robertson Davies and Grant Macdonald (Toronto: Clarke & Irwin, 1954) 128; henceforth it will be referred to as Davies.



Picture 20. The Stratford Festival Company production of *Oedipus Rex* at the Edinburgh Festival in 1956.[372]

When Guthrie decided to experiment with and present an authentic theatrical experience of the *Oedipus* tragedy to many, it was Tanya Moiseiwitsch, the designer, who had to put his ideas in practice and face the essential problem to find material that would be tolerable under canvas in the height of the southern Ontario summer. According to Robertson Davies, she solved the problem by creating "casts taken from clay models, in gauze and *papier mâché*, covered with chamois" (Davies 129). Another extraordinary aspect of Moisiewitsch's mask-designing was the colour of the masks; each mask had a dominant colour. Whereas the face (*πρόσωπον: prosopon*)[373] of Oedipus "was a superb, sun-like visage of gold, from which the pinnacles of his crown branched out like the rays of the Sun himself," Jocasta's mask was silver, "a Moon to this Sun [Oedipus]" (Davies 129); both Oedipus and Jocasta were like a sun-and-moon pairing. On the other hand, the face of Creon was of dark bronze, withdrawn and watchful. As a whole "[t]hese royal persons, with their great metallic heads, were obviously the most important characters in the drama, and the grandeur of their robes completed a magnificence which no unmasked actor could hope to attain" asserts Davies (Davies 129).

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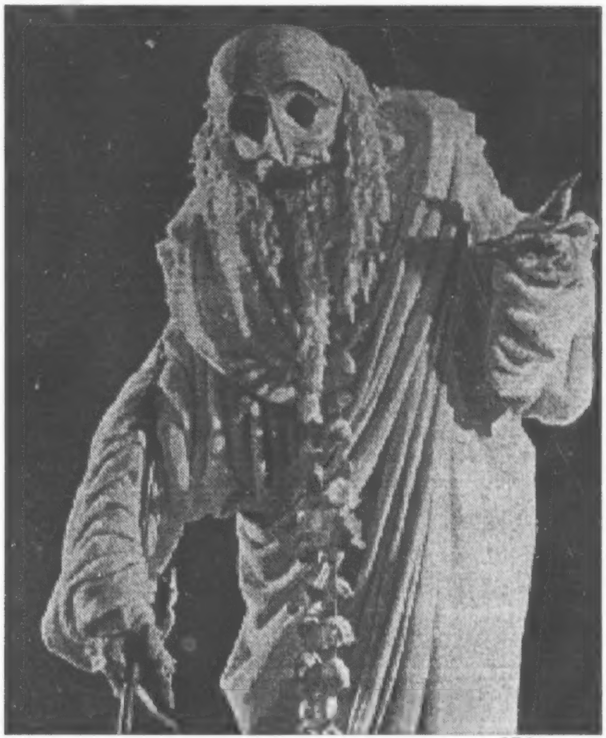
[372] This photograph appeared in *The Scotsman* but is actually taken from James Forsyth, *Tyrone Guthrie: A Biography* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1976) between pages 292 and 293. Hereafter Forsyth's book will be cited as Forsyth.

[373] In this context we are playing with the Greek word *πρόσωπον* (*prosopon*) which in classical antiquity had a double meaning: the human face or the masks used by the actors in tragedy and comedy. For a discucssion of the meaning of the *prosopon* in Greek tragedy see John A. Hawkins, "The Greek Tragic Actor: Actor and Prosopa," *Essays in Theatre* 3.1 (1984) 46-59. For a general discussion of the use and function of the mask in Greek drama see section 1.2.3.3., Chapter II.

Apart from the masks of the principal characters, however, the most striking figure in the play was the prophet Teiresias, as illustrated in *Picture 21*:



Picture 21. Teiresias approaching Oedipus.[374]

He was dressed in grey and his mask made a strong suggestion of a "bony head of a bird, ivory-white, beaked and sightless,"[375] "as though the fowls of the air that Teiresias habitually consults had permeated his very being."[376] Discussing this particular production, Arnott brings up another interesting aspect of the relation between Donald Davis, the actor who played the role of Teiresias in both the 1954 and 1955 productions of *Oedipus Rex*, and Guthrie, the producer. This theatre scholar maintains that Guthrie suggested to Davis "that he should approach the role with the image of a parrot having a fit" (Arnott, "North America" 362).

But the excellency of mask-designing and making was also present in the masks of the chorus, the fifteen Theban Elders (Davies 129-30). If we glance closer at *Picture 20*, we may be surprised by the similarity of masks and costuming of the Chorus and the resulting choral anonymity. Of course, this choral anonymity is closely related to Guthrie's perception of theatre as ritual, and his view that the chorus in Greek tragedy does not represent individuals but typifies a mass of people. Therefore, it was only natural that in the Stratford productions of *Oedipus Rex* the Chorus was seen and presented not as a collection of individuals, or town people as in Schneider's production in 1950,[377] but as a collective entity. The collectivity of the Chorus was further reinforced by a loose all-enveloping robe of rough fabric with a cloak often thrown over the head, as shown in *Picture 20.* It has to be emphasized, however, that the collective symbol of the chorus did not remain passive during the performance; it was also reacting choreographically and vocally to the other great symbol, Oedipus. As William Hutt recounts, Guthrie seemed to be more interested in sound (singing) than language.[378] Therefore, the mass effect of the Chorus was intensified visually by the similarity of masks and costuming and their movements as well as acoustically by their singing.

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[374] Taken from *The Stratford Festival: 1953-1957*, forword by The Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey and introduction by Herbert Whittaker (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1958) 30.

[375] Davies 129.

[376] Peter Arnott, "North America," *Living Greek Theatre: A Handbook of Classical Performance and Modern Production*, ed. J. Michael Walton (New York, Westport, Conn. & London: Greenwood P, 1987) 362; henceforth it will be referred to as Arnott, "North America."

Here we should make a necessary observation. When William Hutt states that Guthrie was more interested in the Chorus' singing than its speaking, we can see the intimate relationship between his production of *Oedipus Rex* and Yeats's version of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus used in the 1954 and 1955 productions. Although the use of the Yeatsian rendering in these productions was either praised[379] or condemned and fell short when compared to Murray's *Oedipus, King of Thebes*,[380] none of the theatrical or literary critics has remarked on this aspect of the relationship between the Guthrie production and the Yeatsian version of *Oedipus*. Although Yeats's *Sophocles'* King Oedipus was first performed at the Abbey Theatre in 1926, it was the published form of his version which became the orthodox script for the producers.[381] The 1928 edition of Yeats's version of *Oedipus* makes clear that all the choral odes, except the very last, had to be sung to the music written by Lennox Robinson, the producer of this production.[382] Of course, this does not mean that Guthrie employed the same music that was used in the 1926 production of *Sophocle's* King Oedipus at the Abbey Theatre, or that Cedric Thorpe Davie, who wrote the music for the 1954 and 1955 Stratford productions of *Oedipus Rex*, used the same score. Even so, we can see how closely Guthrie, as the producer of Yeats's version, followed one of the very basic principles and instructions given by Yeats: that the stasima should be sung. Thus, we can assert that William Hutt is fully justified when he says that Guthrie was more interested in the Chorus' singing than its speaking.

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[377] As discussed in section 2.2. of this chapter.

[378] William Hutt played the Chorus Leader in both the 1954 and 1955 Stratford productions of *Oedipus Rex*. See J. Allan B. Somerset, *The Stratford Festival Story: A Catalogue-Index to the Stratford, Ontario, Festival. 1953-1990* (New York, Westport, Conn. & London: Greenwood P, 1990) 3 and 4.

[379] See Guthrie's comments on Yeats's version in his *In Various Directions: A View of Theatre* (London: Michael Joseph, 1965) 51.

[380] For an extensive analysis see Davies 118-26, 132 and 141. A drastically different point of view on Yeats's rendering of *Oedipus the King* has been presented in section 3.3. of Chapter III.

[381] W.B. Yeats, *Sophocles'* King Oedipus*: A Version for Modern Stage* (London: Macmillan, 1928).

[382] W.B. Yeats, The Music for the Chorus, *Sophocles'* King Oedipus*: A Version for Modern Stage* (London: Macmillan, 1928) 53-61.

Let us now return to the discussion of the use of masks in the Guthrie productions of *Oedipus Rex* at the Stratford Shakespearean Festival, 1954 and 1955. As we have discussed earlier and seen in *Pictures 19*, *20*, and *21*, the masks used in these productions were considerably larger than life-size and cut out to allow the actors' mouths full play, and the chins were made up in such a way to match the mask colour. How imposing the use of these masks and costumes was during the productions has been well expressed by Charles B. Walker, an eye-witness:

> My own experience in witnessing this production was, I think, typical. For the first few minutes I noticed the masks and other curious imports from antiquity. Then quite suddenly I forgot them. Several scenes from the Guthrie production I remember with emotion: Oedipus' towering passion when he accuses Creon of plotting against his life; the depths of agony and fear in his scenes with Jocasta and later with the herdsman, when the appalling truth of his guilt begins to terrify his soul; and, finally, the scene of ultimate purgation when, self-blinded, Oedipus bursts through the palace doors for the final confrontation with Creon, the chorus, and his own children. In all these strategic turning points of the play, every depth, every nuance of emotion is conveyed solely by words, by bodily movement, or by gesture. Here, acting seems to enter a different realm, where facial expression is no longer needed. One of the most striking and sucessful novelties in Guthrie's staging is the device by which he conveys Oedipus' blindness. Instead of the usual streaks of blood-red paint upon eyes and face, which somehow project a false realism rather than tragic horror, Oedipus enters with his head and shoulders shrouded in a thick black veil, letting the imagination of the audience supply the sense of total blindness and disaster.[383]

But if this reaction comes from a North-American eye-witness of the 1954 and 1955 Stratford productions of *Oedipus Rex*,[384] a similar but more dramatic response comes from Sybil Thorndike,[385] who saw the Stratford Festival Company perform *Oedipus Rex* at the Edinburgh Festival in 1956:

> I'm just a few minutes back from Edinburgh. I must write at once to say that *Oedipus* exalted me--knocked me over--exhilarated me more than anything I've seen in the theatre for years-in fact I can't think of anything except perhaps Barker's *Winter's Tale* that has had such an effect on me--and *Oedipus* more than that even. For the first time in my life I've seen something in the theatre which is as big as Picasso and Braque and the great sculptors--the theatre to me has

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[383] Charles B. Walker, "The Return of Oedipus," *Sophocles' Oedipus the King and Oedipus at Colonus: A New Translation for Modern Readers and Theatergoers* (New York: [Anchor Books] Doubleday, 1966) xvii-xviii; henceforth it will be referred to as Walker.

[384] We are mentioning both the 1954 and 1955 Stratford productions of *Oedipus Rex* because in Walker's "The Return of Oedipus" it is not clear to which production the writer refers.

[385] As discussed earlier, Sybil Thorndike played the role of Jocasta in the Old Vic production of *Oedipus Rex* produced by Saint-Denis in 1945. See *Picture 14* in which she appears with Laurence Olivier playing the role of Jocasta.

> always lagged behind about 50 years and had never expressed violently and splendidly and *awe*fully the world now. That's why I've come back in a state of exhaltation. You've done such a wonderful thing-and the whole ... Douglas (Oh! I never thought he could be that be!)--Tanya--that company--all was deeply significant--beautifully spoken--so full of sheer creation--those amazingly musical sounds--Douglas's terribly moving intakes of breath-the bird noise of the old white bald fellow--and the masks--change of sound--I've never seen anything like it--and I'm so moved ... And Oh! ... how I wish I were young and could do something cataclysmic like that. Who knows I may do something Aweful before I conk out!!! Thank you, thank you-I remember the first time I heard the Bach Passion with full orchestra and chorus--I was 14--and I thought I'd *die* from sheer thrill. I had something the same last night. (Forsyth 258-59)

In a later conversation with Forsyth, Sybil Thorndike commented on the 1945 Old Vic production *Oedipus Rex*, in which she herself had played the role of Jocasta, and, consequently compares it with that of the Stratford Festival Company at the Edinburgh Festival in 1956. She recalls that, whereas she found *Oedipus the King* overall distasteful when she was first approached to play Jocasta in 1945, during the 1956 Stratford Festival production of the same tragedy she responded differently. Played with masks, claimed Thorndike, this production was more successful in moving towards a universality of ritual than the stage realism of the 1945 Old Vic production. Furthermore, she holds that the appearance of the gouged and blind Oedipus streaming theatrical blood[386] was an actual physical duplication of one of the most powerful passages in Sophocles and would have offended him. By contrast, in the Stratford Festival production of *Oedipus Rex* in Edinburgh,[387] Oedipus re-entered in the same mask that he had worn before but now with his head veiled. This entrance, according to Thorndike, was far more impressive that that in the Old Vic production of *Oedipus Rex*. It was "[t]he blindness and the blood of the veiled Oedipus" insisted Thorndike that "were impressed in the mind and imagination of the audience, which is a more disturbing place for them to be than sensationally objectified on stage" (Forsyth 259). This statement parallels Walker's, "[i]nstead of the usual streaks of blood-red paint upon eyes and face, which somehow project a false realism rather than tragic horror, Oedipus enters with his head and shoulders shrouded in a thick black veil, letting the imagination of the audience supply the sense of total blindness and disaster" (Walker xviii) Furthermore, it supports the belief that the British theatrical audience was as much impressed by the use of masks and the entrance of the blinded and veiled Oedipus in the Stratford productions of *Oedipus Rex* at the Edinburgh Festival in 1956 as the North-American audience had been at the Stratford Festival the years before. *Picture 22* illustrates the much-discussed Oedipus of these productions.

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[386] See *Pictures 15* and *16* in this chapter.

[387] Of course, the same technique was followed in the Stratford productions of *Oedipus Rex* in 1954 and 1955.

Picture 22. The entrance of the blinded Oedipus in the Stratford Festival productions of *Oedipus Rex*.[388]

2.3.1. The importance of the Stratford Festival productions of *Oedipus Rex* for the reception of this tragedy by the North American public

As discussed earlier, we can detect a similarity in reception of the Stratford Festival productions of *Oedipus* by the North American and the British theatrical audiences in 1954/1955 and 1956 respectively. Nevertheless, the similarity ends here. On the one hand, and, although the Stratford production of *Oedipus Rex* at the Edinburgh Festival was well-received by the general public and hailed by the theatre people, it did not have any further implications for the British theatre due to Guthrie's own reputation as being a "clever and gimmicky director" (Forsyth 259). On the other hand, Guthrie's *Oedipus* has been enormously influential upon the perception and reception of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus the King* by the North American public, and can be studied from different angles.

First, Guthrie himself, as a director, had the opportunity to experiment with the staging of *Oedipus* and put into practice his personal theory of theatre as ritual.[389]

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[388] Taken from *Essays in Theatre* 2.1 (1983) 1.

[389] In this context, we should keep in mind that Guthrie's theory of theatre as ritual varies significantly from other theories of ritual origins of drama and theatre. For him, ritual and symbolism are interchangeable and collapse into a symbol or symbols. His main concern is how to present these symbols on the stage in order for particular productions to transcend their specificity of time and place and achieve a universal quality themselves. For Guthrie's theory of theatre as ritual see Tyrone Guthrie, "Theatre as Ritual," *In Various Directions: A View of Theatre* (London: Michael Joseph, 1965) 22-39.

Perceiving Oedipus not as a man but rather as a symbol, and the chorus not as a collection of individuals but as a collective entity, he tried to convey the symbolism of this Greek tragedy by reproducing, at least in general, some of the very basic conventions of the ancient Greek theatre in a theatre structure and on a stage that were approximated to Greek space.[390] Those productions were able to support his theory that at the heart of the greatest drama lay rituals of the human spirit which could not be played out realistically. Moreover, by using the scanty evidence of Greek vase paintings, Guthrie was not simply aiming at historical accuracy or a reproduction of the Greek productions that took place 2,500 years ago[391]; his purpose was to use any means--which explains his experiments with masks and costumes--to escape the literal in time and place. He was seeking to find, what he called, the universal quality of tragedy lifted to an abstracted and remote grandeur.

Second, when Guthrie's theories on Greek tragedy materialized in the 1954, 1955 and 1956 productions of *Oedipus Rex*, they offered a totally different dimension of this Greek tragedy to the twentieth century. As Reinhardt productions of *Oedipus Rex* in England and the Contintent brought archaelogical, philological and philosophical discourses together, and changed the relation between actors and audience in the early twentieth century,[392] Guthrie's productions of the same tragedy did not only bring archaeological, philological, psychoanalytical and sociological discourses together, but also demonstrated that Greek tragedies can still be produced as they were 2,500 years ago, and still be well-received by a modern but different (in this case English-speaking) theatrical audience. Yet, in his "Classical Theatre and the Entertainment Industry,"[393] Guthrie is not blind to the fact that, although productions of Greek tragedy may be well-received by a contemporary North American audience, they cannot be as commercially successful as other shows. This is due not only to the cultural and time-span difference, but also to the fact that great metropolitan centres, like London, New York and Paris, "are now centres not primarily of theatrical art but of an entertainment industry" (Guthrie 55).

Third, and surprisingly the most neglected aspect of these productions even by the theatrical critics and scholars, is that *Oedipus Rex*, being a part of the 1954 and 1955 overall productions of Stratford Shakespearean Festival, was not only lectured upon to professional actors by Guthrie before the rehearsals started,[394] but was also part of a drama course that was offered and conducted by the Festival directors and leading actors, while the Festival productions were taking place.[395] Those lectures were upon various aspects of the theatre including theatre history, stage management, stage production and acting techniques. This was of crucial importance for the development of theatre/drama departments in North America, and especially in Canada, for various and overlapping reasons. First, theatre practitioners (producers, professional actors, stage managers and others) were brought together to teach students interested in theatre art, thus institutionalizing further the existence and necessity of drama departments in North America, and more particularly in Canada, where they had started to be established in 1947. Second, as soon as theatre history was one of the requirements in the newly established drama departments, classical tragedy was considered and taught as the cornerstone of the Western theatrical tradition. Finally, at that period a conscious effort was observed in both the U.S.A. and Canada to imitate the theatrical structure of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival Theatre, the result of which was the construction of hundreds of thrust theatres all over North America. One of the best examples was the Tyrone Guthrie Theater in Minneapolis, which was, however, built much later, in 1965.[396]

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[390] For the theatre structure and stage of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival Theatre see *Picture 18* in this chapter.

[391] This position is held by Arnott in his "North America" 363.

[392] As discussed in section 3.2.1. of Chapter III.

[393] Tyrone Guthrie, "Classical Theatre and the Entertainment Industry," *In Various Directions: A View of Theatre* (London: Michael Joseph, 1963) 40-56; henceforth it will be quoted as Guthrie.

[394] Arnott, "North America" 363.

Moreover, there are other aspects of the impact of the Stratford Festival productions of *Oedipus Rex* upon the North American TS that might have gone unnoticed if it had not occured around the same time. First, it was Yeats's version of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus used in the Guthrie productions of *Oedipus Rex* that became once again popular[397] and accessible to both a general and a more sophisticated audience, when published in the first edition of *The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces*.[398] As is now well-known, *The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces* was primarily conceived and launched to cover a new market demand in North America: to be used by university students as a course requirement in literature departments, departments of comparative literature and to some extent in departments of drama/theatre. In this first edition, the editors of the anthology chose Yeats's *Sophocles'* King Oedipus because, as they put it, it showed "a feeling for the English language as it is written and spoken today" (*The Norton Anthology* x).

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[395] This piece of invaluable information is taken from "Ancillary Activities (2nd Season)--History of the Development of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival," *Reference Data on The Stratford Shakespearean Festival: Third Annual Season of Drama, June 27-August 27. Inaugural Season of Music, July 9-August 6 1955*, n. pag.

[396] See Tyrone Guthrie, *A New Theatre* (New York, Toronto & London: McGraw-Hill Book, 1964).

[397] As discussed earlier, the rendering of *Oedipus the King* by Yeats had always been popular but it was paid special attention to after the Old Vic Company used it for its 1945 and 1946 productions of *Oedipus Rex*.

[398] W.B. Yeats, *King Oedipus, The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces*, eds. Maynard Mack et al, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1956) 232-56; hereafter it will be quoted as *The Norton Anthology*.

Nonetheless, they felt necessary to add an introduction to both Sophocles and *King Oedipus*, and some explanatory footnotes that did not appear in the 1928 edition of Yeats's *Sophocles'* King Oedipus.[399] It is also interesting that in this first edition of the *Norton Anthology* there are some footnotes indicating which passages Yeats had ommitted or altered, and a more accurate translation of these passages was given.[400]

In this case, we soon realize how a version that was first made to be put on stage and often used as a script for actual performances, was now being used for a much wider and more specific public. Another consequence of the publication of Yeats's *Sophocles'* King Oedipus in the first edition of *The Norton Anthology* was the canonization of this tragedy as one of the masterpieces of world literature. That is also due to the slow but steady foundation of the first departments of Comparative Literature in North America that had already started establishing various works as "World Literature" through English translations.[401]

3. The Filmed versions of *Oedipus the King* between 1957 and 1959

3.1. Guthrie's filmed version of *Oedipus Rex*

Moreover, the Guthrie production of *Oedipus the Rex* had an enormous impact upon the reception of this tragedy by the North American public when it was filmed, originally for educational release. This was the only one of Guthrie's productions to be presented on film and, indeed, one of the few films of Greek tragedy to be quite accessible. According to Arnott, however, this "filmed Oedipus falls short of the quality of the staged original and serves to illustrate the problems of filming Greek drama in general. The masks, which worked well enough in the quasi-Greek perspective of Statford, became inflated and grotesque in the necessary closeups of the screen, Disneyesque rather than Sophoclean" (Arnott, "North America" 363).

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[399] This has been the standard policy of *The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces* for all the translations ever since.

[400] For example, see footnotes 16,18, 20 and 29 on pages 244, 246, 248 and 256 respectively.

[401] Much later, another edition of the Yeatsian version of *Oedipus the King*, directed to the first-year students of literature rather than to the classical specialists, was published by Balachandra Rajan. Rajan edited Yeats's rendering, wrote the introduction to and notes for it and supplemented this edition with Aristotle's *Poetics*, translated by G.M.A. Grube. See W.B. Yeats, *Sophocles'* King Oedipus, ed. Balachandra Rajan (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1969) 51-99.

3.2. Schneider's filmed production of *Oedipus Rex* on "Omnibus" in 1957

Apart from the Guthrie filmed version of *Oedipus Rex* in 1957, the metropolitan and regional North American public was "bombarded" with other filmed versions of *Oedipus*. The first was presented on "Omnibus" over Channel 7 in New York in January 1957. This production was part of a TV-Radio workshop sponsored by the Ford Foundation as early as in February 1956.[402] It was directed by Alan Schneider and the version used was that by Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald.[403] This translation was, however, adapted by Walter Kerr for a 90-minute TV presentation.[404]

According to Alistair Cooke, the commentator of the TV-Guide

> [c]redit for this impressive production of the tragedy by Sophocles should be distributed in a number of directions.
>
> Christopher Plummer, into the title role, gave a brilliant performance as the King doomed by inexorable prophecy. Excellent support was provided by a cast that included Robert Goodier, as Creon; Carol Goodner, as Jocasta; William Needles, as the old shepherd; Donald G. Davis, as Tiresias, and Michael Strong, as a reluctant messenger.
>
> The fact that "Oedipus" was projected with the hard-to-achieve austere, brooding quality required by the harrowing nature of its theme was a tribute to Alan Schneider, who staged it, and Seymour Robbie, who was in charge of camera direction. The adaptation by Walter Kerr from the Dudley Fitts-Robert Fitzgerald translation was a model of coherent selection admirably suited to the limitations of a live television production.
>
> The most critical problem in the presentation must have been how to present the stricken Oedipus after he had blinded himself near the end of the tragedy. The effect was achieved convincingly and somehow chillingly.
>
> "Omnibus" has been accused in the past of being pretentious in its programming. In offering such an honest, vital and stirring presentation of a major classic, however, the program displayed great integrity and intelligence.

In this critical statement we can recognize various dynamics. First, this film production was directed by Alan Schneider, who had produced the same tragedy at the Catholic University, Washington (D.C.) seven years before: responsible for the camera direction was Seymour Robbie. The significant difference between these productions is that in the latter Schneider used professional actors, and especially some who had played almost the same roles in the Stratford productions of *Oedipus Rex* in 1954 and 1955, for example, Robert Goodier, Donald Davis and William Needles played the roles of Creon, Tiresias and the Old Shepherd respectively, roles which they had already performed in the Stratford productions of *Oedipus*.[405] Furthermore, William Shatner,[406] who had been one of the chorus members in the Stratford productions of *Oedipus*, now played the role of the Palace Messenger.[407]

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[402] This invaluable information comes from the first draft of the unpublished manuscript *The TV-Radio Workshop of the Ford Foundation. Sophocles' Oedipus the King* that Professor Hawkins allowed me very kindly to use in my dissertation.

[403] For a discussion of Fitts's and Fitzgerald's translation *Oedipus Rex* and its theatrical production by Alan Schneider at Catholic University, Washington (D.C.) in 1950, see section 2.2. of this chapter.

[404] This information comes not only from the first draft of the unpublished material but also from the TV-Guide with which Professor Hawkins has provided me.

Another interesting point in the preceding critical discussion of this Schneider version of *Oedipus Rex* is the adaptation of Fitts's and Fitzgerald's written text of *Oedipus* by Walter Kerr to suit to the limitations of a 90-minute "live-television production." The practical dimension of Kerr's adaptation is further reinforced by the drastic cuts in Fitts's and Fitzgerald's version that appear in the first draft of *The TV-Radio Workshop of The Ford Foundation: Sophocles'* Oedipus the King.

The other intriguing remark in Alistair Cooke's discussion is that the presentation of "the stricken Oedipus after he had blinded himself near the end of the tragedy" was convincing and somewhat chilling. Although it has not been overtly stated, the assumption running through this statement is that Oedipus' self-affliction was presented realistically. This should not come as a surprise, if we consider that Alan Schneider, the director of this production, had been an ardent advocate of theatrical realism.[408]

Finally, in the last paragraph of the above quotation, the commercial aspect of the Schneider filmed production of *Oedipus Rex* on "Omnibus" is explicitly stated. Having been accused of being pretentious in its programming, "Omnibus" wanted to gain the trust of its viewers back again, and one of the ways to accomplish that was to present "a major classic," such as Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* in Alan Schneider's production.

3.3. Knox's *Oedipus the King* and the 1959 TV mini-series

Two years after the film versions of Guthrie and Schneider productions of *Oedipus Rex*, a rekindled theatrical, scholarly and general public interest in Greek tragedy and Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* culminated in Bernard M.W. Knox's prose translation of *Oedipus the King*.[409] that was still considered an "acting version." As Dr. Knox himself put it in the Preface to his translation, this prose translation "was made for actors, for a performance; in fact for the scenes for the play which are acted by the Stratford Shakespearean Festival Company of Canada in a series of lessons filmed in color on the *Oedipus*" (Knox v). These educational mini-series on Greek tragedy and *Oedipus the King* were funded "by the Council for a Television Course in the Humanities for Secondary Schools" and this translation was intended primarily for the junior high school students "who will study the play with the aid of the films" (Knox v). As Dr. Knox explains in the same Preface, a need for a new translation of *Oedipus the King* was strongly felt because "none of the existing translations met the demands of the situation" (Knox v). This filmed version required an immediate intelligibility in performance because it would be addressed to high school students, an audience which had no previous knowledge of Greek tragedy, and whose acquaintance with the theatre in any form would vary from zero to the bare minimum. Hence, according to Dr. Knox, his version of *Oedipus* should not place any "obstacles between the modern audience and the dramatic power of the play" (Knox vi).

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[405] This piece of information has been elicited from a comparison between J. Alan B. Somerset, *The Stratford Festival Story: A Catalogue-Index to the Stratford, Ontario, Festival 1953-1990* (New York, Westport, Conn. & London: Greenwood P. 1991) 3-4 and the TV-Guide, Sunday--January 6 1957, A-28.

[406] A few years later, William Shatner became famous as Captain Kirk of "Star Trek."

[407] This piece of information has been inferred from a comparison between J. Alan B. Somerset, *The Stratford Festival Story: A Catalogue-Index to the Stratford, Ontario, Festival 1953-1990* (New York, Westport, Conn. London: Greenwood P, 1991) 3-4 and the TV-Guide, Sunday - January 6 1957, A-28; it is also taken from the TV-Guide, Sunday - January 6 1957, A-28.

[408] As discussed in section of 2.2. of this chapter.

[409] Bernard M.W. Knox, *Oedipus the King. Sophocles* (New York: A Washington Square P, 1959); hereafter it will be mentioned as Knox. We should not forget that this renowned classical scholar had already published some articles and books on *Oedipus* and Sophocles, such as: (1) "The Date of *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles" *American Journal of Philology* 77.306 (1956) 133-47; (2) *Oedipus*

In addition, the same classical scholar also discusses the reason why his new translation of *Oedipus* was preferred to Yeats's *Sophocles'* King Oedipus in these mini-series by the players of the Stratford Company who had performed Yeats's version a few years before. Although he recognizes Yeats's version "has been used in the most recent performances of the play," Dr. Knox states that:

> this [the prose translation of Yeats] has grave disadvantages which do not seem to be generally recognized. Yeats, for reasons he did not see fit to explain, cut the play in the same highhanded way he edited Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol* ("My work gave me that privilege"); what the result is in the case of Wilde I leave to others to judge, but in the case of Sophocles it is close to disastrous. In the last scene of the play, for example, he has omitted ninety of the 226 lines Sophocles wrote, and he has moved parts of speeches as much as a hundred lines away from their true position, not to mention the fact that at one point he has taken two lines from Oedipus, given them to the chorus, and slapped them into the middle of one of Oedipus' long speeches at a point where an interruption destroys the power of speech. As if this were not enough, he has, in an earlier scene, omitted Jocasta's famous lines on chance, without which the play loses a great deal of its meaning. (Knox vii)[410]

Hence, *Oedipus* had to be translated again. What is significant in this translation is that Dr. Knox, first, made "some remarks of a directorial nature" wherever he "thought them necessary to bring out the meaning of the passage,"[411] and, second, acknowledged the help that he received from two actors: Mr. Douglas Campbell and an actress, a friend, who did not wish to be named. As Dr. Knox admits, Campbell gave his overwhelming

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at Thebes (London: Oxford UP, 1957); and (3) *The Heroic Temper: Studies in Sophoclean Tragedy* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: U of California P, 1964).

[410] A rationale for these drastic cuts has been offered in section 3.3. of Chapter III.

[411] Knox ix.

expertise on those parts which were used in the films, and his anonymous actress friend went over every line of his translation to text it for stage delivery (Knox x).

One common characteristic of all three filmed versions of *Oedipus* (Guthrie's, Schneider's and Knox's) is that, although they used different translations of *Oedipus*, they employed either the same players of the Stratford Festival Company, as in Guthrie's and Knox's filmed versions of *Oedipus* in 1957 and 1959 or, at least, some of them, as in the Schneider production on "Omnibus" in 1957.

Guthrie's productions of *Oedipus Rex* at the Stratford Festival may be taken to sum up the achievement of the first half of the twentieth century. An unorthodox director in his Shakespearean productions, Guthrie experimented with some conventions of the ancient Greek theatre, such as masks and costuming, and demonstrated that Greek tragedy does not need a stage realism to be understood and appreciated by a contemporary English-speaking audience.[412] The 1954 and 1955 Stratford productions of *Oedipus Rex* also resulted in various filmed versions of the same tragedy. With all the activity of both the theatrical and filmed versions of *Oedipus the King*, it becomes gradually apparent that the theatrical productions and filmed versions of this Sophoclean tragedy were becoming as important as the written texts by Yeats, Fitts-Fitzgerald and Knox for the perception and reception of this tragedy by the North American public.

Therefore, it should not be an overstatement to claim that Greek tragedy and *Oedipus the King* were becoming more accessible to a more general public not only through translations (written texts) but also through theatrical performances (performed texts) and filmed theatre. At this period, filmed theatre begun to be a powerful tool in bringing *Oedipus* to the homes of the average North American viewers and helping them to understand what Greek tragedy and Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* are about.

In sum, the 1954/1955 Stratford productions of *Oedipus Rex* and the three filmed versions of the same Greek tragedy in 1957 and 1959 became the springboard, first, for the re-edition of older prose or verse translations of this tragedy and, second, for the appearance of new ones, a subject with which we shall occupy ourselves in the next chapter of this dissertation.

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[412] This position is not necessarily held by all theatre critics and scholars. For example, Arnott holds that Guthrie's *Oedipus* "remained curiously conservative and testified to a theatre still dominated by the antiquarian, textbook tradition of the universities" (Arnott, "North America" 363).

CHAPTER V

OEDIPUS THE KING: ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS, ADAPTATIONS AND PERFORMANCES SINCE THE 1960s

Introduction

As we have discussed in Chapters III and IV, there have been fluctuations in the popularity of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus the King* with the English-speaking world since the late nineteenth century. We have also seen that the abundance of translations and theatrical productions of *Oedipus the King* has always been related to the presence of various social discourses and the variability in the make-up of the public. In Chapter IV we have also shown that the revival of this tragedy observed in the late 1950s was mainly due to two different but interrelated factors: first, Guthrie's productions of *Oedipus Rex* at Stratford Festival which initiated many other theatrical, radio and filmed productions of the same drama and, second, the emergence of a wider university readership when new departments, like drama/theatre departments and departments of comparative literature, started being established across North America.

A careful inquiry into our large corpus of data points, however, to a great demand for Greek tragedy and for Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* within a wider English polysystem from the early 1960s up to the present. As a result, either older translations kept being reprinted or a proliferation of new translations flooded once again the North American and British markets. But how did this demand for *Oedipus* come into being? Although a detailed explanation accounting for all its widely different aspects is not possible, we shall argue that the ongoing change in institutions like universities and the foundation of various departments like drama/theatre and comparative literature, combined with the development of other discourses, became the springboard for a new wave of demand for translations and performances of *Oedipus the King* in the wider polysystem.

It is worth noticing that most of the translations were made primarily in English prose and verse. Although some of the reprints of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century translations of Oedipus were written in either prose or in verse,[413] the majority of the most recent versions of Oedipus are overwhelmingly in English prose and verse.

Thus, in the present chapter, we shall undertake the task to demonstrate how these translations were generated, first, by the ongoing process of canonization of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus the King* at various institutions, especially in North America. We shall also try to determine whether there was any differentiation between two distinct types of readership: an average and a sophisticated readership.

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[413] As discussed in Chapter III of this dissertation.

1. TWO DECADES OF GREAT DEMAND FOR *OEDIPUS THE KING*: TRANSLATIONS, PERFORMANCES, ADAPTATIONS AND APPROPRIATIONS (1960-1980)

1.1. Reprints of Older Versions of *Oedipus the King* in English Prose, Verse, and Prose and Verse

1.1.1. *Oedipus* in English prose: Jebb's *The Oedipus Tyrannus*

As emphasized earlier,[414] Jebb's literal translation of *The Oedipus Tyrannus* became the "standard version" of *Oedipus* and, thus, dominated the British and North American reading markets for almost a century. It is surprising that this Victorian version was still reprinted and appeared in different drama anthologies, although this fact may not only reflect the continuing authority of the text, but rather its falling into the public domain. During this period we see, first, publishing houses like Cambridge University Press and Hakkert in Amsterdam publishing the 1893 edition of Jebb's *The Oedipus Tyrannus* once again in 1963,1966 and 1972. Second, we see the main text of this philological translation being edited in drama and theatre anthologies like *Three Great Greek Plays* edited by Lyman Bryson in 1960, *Three Classic Greek Plays* by Blanch Yurka in 1964 and *The Complete Plays of Sophocles* by Moses Hadas in 1967 and 1971.[415] Finally, we encounter a modernized version of Jebb's *Oedipus* in *Oedipus: Myth and Drama* edited by Martin Kallich, Andrew MacLeish and Gertrude Schoerbohn in 1968.[416]

1.1.2. *Oedipus the King* in English verse

Between the 1960s and 1980s, only a few reprints of poetical translations appeared or re-appeared in the British and American markets. Translations like Campbell's *King Oedipus*, Young's *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Murray's *Oedipus, King of Thebes* and Storr's *Oedipus the King*, which were made once with the intention to make this Sophoclean play more accessible to an average non-Greek public and which became highly influential, were now reprinted only occasionally,[417] and some were eclipsed either by the reprints of the more recent translations or by the appearance of new versions of *Oedipus the King*.

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[414] See sections 3.1. and 3.1.1. of Chapter III.

[415] Further bibliographical references can be found under "Jebb, Sir R.C." in section C.3. of the Selected Bibliography appended to this study.

[416] As footnote 415.

1.1.3. *Oedipus the King* in English prose and verse or, otherwise, reprints of Yeats's *Sophocles' King Oedipus*

As discussed in Chapters III and IV, Yeats's version of *Sophocles' King Oedipus* was one of the most influential and controversial versions of Oedipus since its first performance in Dublin in 1926 and its first publication in London in 1928.[418] Yet it seems that after 1960s his *Sophocles' King Oedipus* was repeatedly printed in various collections of his plays such as : (1) *The Collected Plays of W.B. Yeats* published by Macmillan and St Martin's Press in 1960; (2) *The Collected Plays* of W.B. Yeats published by Macmillan in 1966; and (3) *The Variorum Edition of the Plays of W.B. Yeats* published by Macmillan in 1966. Since then, it appeared only twice: (1) in Balachandra Rajan's edition of *Sophocles' King Oedipus*,[419] which also included a translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*; and (2) in Bentley's *Great Playwrights*.[420] It was also produced by Michael Cacoyannis at the Abbey Theatre in 1973.

1.2. Reprints of more recent versions of *Oedipus the King* in prose and verse

While some of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth century translations of Sophocles' *Oedipus* were sporadically reprinted, some other more recent versions of the same tragedy, initially made between the 1930s and 1950s, flooded the North American and British markets. The most common characteristic of all these translations is that their dialogues were rendered in prose, whereas their choral songs were in free verse.

1.2.1. Gassner's *Oedipus the King* and Mendell's *Oedipus Tyrannus*

First, the version *Oedipus the King* made by the theatre historian John Gassner and published originally in his highly circulated *Treasury of Theater* in 1935, was reprinted in 1967.[421] Second, Clarence Mendell's translation of *Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* appeared again in the North American market during the 1960s. This translation was first published as an appendix to his much longer study *Our Seneca* in 1941.[422] This book is a study on the influence of Seneca upon Elizabethan and Jacobean literature. It is also a thorough, comparative study of the Sophoclean and Senecan *Oedipus*, examining to what degree each of these classical tragedies were developed by Elizabethan and Jacobean writers. But it was Mendell's translation of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* that was chosen to be included in the anthology *The Theban Saga* edited by Alexander Robinson in 1966.[423] The 1941 edition of Mendell's *Our Seneca* was reprinted once again in 1968,[424] and then both passed into oblivion or was ignored.

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[417] For a discussion of the importance of these translations for the British and American TSs see sections 3.2., 3.2.1. of Chapter III; for the sporadic reprints of these translations see under the names of the translators in the Selected Bibliography appended to this dissertation.

[418] See section 3.3. in Chapter III, and sections 1.2., 2.3., 2.3.1. and 3.1. in Chapter IV.

[419] W.B. Yeats, *Sophocles' King Oedipus*, ed. Balachandra Rajan (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1969) 51-99.

[420] W.B. Yeats, "King Oedipus," *The Great Playwrights*, ed. Eric Bentley, vol. 1 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970) 91-122

[421] John Gassmer, *Oedipus the King*. *Treasury of the Theatre* (New York: Simon Schuster, 1967) 33-51.

1.2.2. Grene's *Oedipus the King* and Watling's *King Oedipus*

Third, David Grene's *Oedipus the King*, first published by the University of Chicago Press in 1942, was not only repeatedly reprinted by the same publishing house between 1942 and 1968[425] but also published by two other publishing houses whose editions were cost-effective and highly-circulated: (1) in the Washington Square Press in 1967[426]; and (2) in the *Great Books of the Western World* published by the Encyclopaedia Britannica in 1980.[427]

Fourth, another popular and accessible translation of *Oedipus* for an average English readership was Watling's *King Oedipus. Sophocles: The Theban Plays* which was published by Penguin Books simultaneously in Baltimore (U.S.A.), Melbourne (Australia) and Middlesex (U.K.) in 1947. This translation, however, will be discussed in section 2 of this chapter in which it will be compared with Fagles' *Oedipus the King*, the latest translation of *Oedipus* published by Penguin Books (1984).

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[422] Clarence W. Mendell, *Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles. Our Seneca* (New Haven: Yale UP & London, Oxford: Milford & Oxford UP, 1941) 201-50.

[423] Clarence W. Mendell, "Oedipus the King," *The Theban Saga*, ed. Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr. (New York: F. Watts, 1966) 9-66.

[424] Clarence W. Mendell, *Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles. Our Seneca* (Archon Books, 1968) 201-50.

[425] See under "Grene, David" in section C.3 of the Selected Bibliography.

[426] David Grene, *Oedipus the King. Sophocles I: The Complete Greek Tragedies*, vol. 3 (New Yokr: Washington Square P, 1967) 9-78.

[427] David, Grene, *Oedipus the King. The Great Books of the Western World: The Plays of Sophocles*, eds. R. M. Hutchins and M. J. Adler, [Encyclopaedia Britannica] (Franklin Center, Penn: The Franklin Library 1980) 3-73.

1.2.3. Fitts's and Fitzgerald's *Oedipus Rex*

Fifth, Dudley Fitts and Fitzgerald's *Oedipus Rex: An English Version* had become the most popular version of Sophocles' *Oedipus* during that period. Apart from the fact that this translation was published simultaneously in London and New York in 1949 and first produced by Alan Schneider, it was published in various anthologies. First, it was repeatedly published in anthologies of drama and/or theatre, such as: *Great Plays from Aeschylus to Eliot* (1950 and 1956), *The Dramatic Experience* (1958), *Tragedy: Plays, Theory and Criticism* (1960), *Drama: An Introductory Anthology* (1961), *Dimensions in Drama: Six Plays of Crime and Punishement* (1964), *Four Stages* (1966), *The Dramatic Moment* (1967), *The Drama: Traditional and Modern* (1968), *Forms of Drama* (1969), *The Art of Drama* (1969), *Twelve Great Plays* (1950 and 1970), *Classic through Modern Drama: An Introductory Anthology* (1970), *Dimensions of Drama* (1970 and 1973), *Sophocles: Oedipus* (1974), *Plays for the Theatre: An Anthology of World Drama* (1969 and 1974), *Masterpieces of the Drama* (1979), *Our Dramatic Heritage* (1983).[428] It is worth noticing that all these anthologies address a very specific and sophisticated reading public, that is, university students and instructors. Another common characteristic is that, although these anthologies keep the main text of Fitts's and Fitzgerald's translation, they omit the introduction, commentary and notes made by these classical scholars in the first publication of their *Oedipus Rex*. Instead, the editors of these anthologies wrote their own introductions, notes or footnotes and sometimes added questions for revision, since their anthologies were meant to be used in a classroom situation.

Despite these two similarities, however, two distinct patterns can be recognized in all the above-mentioned anthologies. The first pattern is that some of these anthologies were planned in order for drama to be studied as literary genre and, thus, to be approached as literature *per se*. The second pattern is that others approached drama only as a part of the whole concept and practice of theatre, and thus the "written text" was perceived as a small but integral aspect of the "performed text."

The second pattern is that Fitts and Fitzgerald's version of *Oedipus Rex* was also published in various and higly circulated anthologies of literature, such as: *The Experience of Literature: A Reader with Commentaries* (1967), *An Introduction to Literature: Drama* (1967), *Continental Literature: An Anthology* (1968). In these anthologies we can also discern a similar practice observed in the anthologies of drama and/or theatre; that is, although the text of Fitts's and Fitzgerald's version of *Oedipus Rex* was kept unchanged, the introductions and notes or footnotes to the translation were added by the editors themselves. The frequent publication of Fitts's and Fitzgerald's *Oedipus Rex* in literary anthologies signifies that this version was popular with students of literature in general, and we can speculate that it was used in the teaching of literature in the English departments at universities across North America. It is worth emphasizing here that the Fitts and Fitzgerald *Oedipus Rex* was never used by students of comparative literature. The reason for this is that the second edition of *World Masterpieces*, which was used primarily by the students and instructors of comparative literature, employed Theodore H. Banks's version of *Oedipus the King*.

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[428] For more bibliographical references see under "Fitts, Dudley and Robert Fitzgerald" in section C.3. of the Selected Bibliography appended to this dissertation.

1.2.4. Banks's *Oedipus the King*

When Banks's *Oedipus the King* appeared in the 1965 and 1966 editions of *World Masterpieces*,[429] it was a reprint of Banks's *Three Theban Plays*, which was first published in 1956.[430] In the preface to the 1956 edition, Banks states how his translations of these Theban plays came into existence. With the support of his collegue Ralph D. Pendleton, Director of Dramatics at the Wesleyan University, he made first a version of *Antigone* to be produced in 1950. The experience of translating *Antigone* and its theatrical production were so rewarding that Banks decided to translate the other two plays, hoping that they, too, would be produced. From the Preface to the first publication of Banks's *Three Theban Plays* we can elicit two facts. The first is that the translation of *Antigone* was published six years after its first script was written and produced. The second is that Banks made the translations of *Oedipus the King* and *Oedipus at Colonus* hoping that they would be produced eventually. Yet, his dream was never realized; instead his *Oedipus the King* and *Antigone* became popular with a wider, sophisticated readership across North America, since it was published in *World Masterpieces*. It is doubtful if these plays, initially rendered to be performed, have ever been produced since the 1950 production of *Antigone*.

Banks's *Oedipus the King* was also published in the *Introduction to the Play*,[431] which was an anthology for the study of some theatrical plays as literature. It is interesting that one of the editors of this anthology was Maynard Mack, the general editor of the *World Masterpieces*. Banks's version of *Oedipus* was eclipsed once Luci Berkowitz's and Theodore F. Brunner's *Oedipus Tyrannus* appeared in *The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces* in 1973.[432]

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[429] For bibliographical references to these anthologies see under "Banks, Theodor Howard" in section C.3. of the Selected Bibliography.

[430] Theodore Howard Banks, *The Three Theban Plays* (New York: Oxford University P, 1956).

[431] Theodore H. Banks, *Oedipus the King*. *Introduction to the Play*, eds. Robert W. Boynton and Maynard Mack (New York: Hayden Book Co, 1969) 161-205.

[432] This edition is discussed in section 1.3.3.1. of this chapter.

1.2.5. Cook's *Oedipus Rex*

Finally, one of the final reprints of all the more recent translations of *Oedipus* is Cook's *Oedipus Rex*. What is really intriguing in this case is not the published form of the translation itself, but that it was published only in anthologies designed first and foremost for theatre/drama students. These anthologies were the following: *Ten Greek Plays in Contemporary Translations* (1957), *Oedipus Rex: A Mirror for Greek Drama* (1963 and 1982) and *The Design of Drama*.[433] Another fascinating aspect of Cook's *Oedipus Rex*, and perhaps very important for theatre translation studies, is that it was first performed at the Tribuary Theatre of Boston in 1948 and then published in 1957; the very same script/translation was also produced at the Cleveland Playhouse in 1958. Although there is no evidence that the 1948 and 1958 productions of Cook's *Oedipus Rex* were performed by students of theatre/drama departments, we tend to think so, for the majority of the productions of *Oedipus* in North America during that period were realized by theatre students. The 1948 and 1958 productions of Cook's *Oedipus Rex* also support the view that since the late 1940s and early 1950s the major and most important theatrical productions of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* did not occur in the major metropolitan centres of North America, such as New York, Toronto, but in regional centres like Washington, D.C. or Stratford, Ontario, thus disseminating and making accessible this Sophoclean drama to a wider theatrical audience.

Finally, the published form of Cook's *Oedipus Rex* shows that, when some translations are made initially to be performed, their published form can usually be either accompanied with rich literary, dramatic or any other kind of criticism.[434] These editions were designed primarily for students who were interested in the richness of this play; they were "handbooks" to provide students and instructors with available and valuable information about *Oedipus*. Therefore, these editions has not only a summary of the Oedipus myth and Cook's version of *Oedipus*[435] but also a discussion of the dramatic and theatrical aspects of Greek tragedy, as well as a collection of the most importart criticism on *Oedipus* from antiquity up to the present.[436] Furthermore, there are study materials and questions whose primary aim is to guide both the student in the preparation of research papers and the instructor in addresing teaching situations (Cook 171-72 and 173-76 respectively). The organization and the presentation of the material in the 1963 and 1982 editions of *Oedipus Rex: A Mirror for Greek Drama* is breathtaking, and shows how much effort Albert Cook put into making such a comprehensive study on *Oedipus* for the contemporary student and instructor. Although Cook does not explicitly state what kind of student he had in mind when he compiled these editions, we can infer that his "student" is either from departments of Classics, Theatre/Drama, Comparative Literature or English departments. Cook's efforts to make *Oedipus the King* accessible not only to a theatrical audience but to a more general and sophisticated readership also signifies a slow but steady process of canonization of *Oedipus* as a cornerstone of the Western theatrical, dramatic and literary heritage, a canonization which has fostered both a new interest in *Oedipus the King* and demand for new translations of this Greek tragedy within a wider North American university population. This does not mean, however, that a wider British public was disinterested in Greek tragedy but, comparatively speaking, there was a greater demand for anthologies of literature and drama in North America than in the U.K., a demand which was related to increase of student population and the consequent changes in curricula at universities.

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[433] See under "Cook, Albert," section C.3. in the Selected Bibliography of this dissertation.

[434] See Albert Cook, *Oedipus Rex: A Mirror for Greek Drama* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland P, 1982 [1st ed. 1963]); hereafter referred to as Cook.

[435] Cook 9-17 and 19-53 respectively.

[436] Cook 1-8 and 55-169 respectively.

1.3. New English translations of *Oedipus the King* from the 1960s to the 1980s

While the North American and British markets were flooded by reprints of older or more recent translations of *Oedipus*, new translations of the same work appeared. These translations can be divided into three very general categories which in their turn can also be sub-divided. The first category is an experiment in translating *Oedipus* by Philip Vellacott, a classical scholar. The second consists of a collaboration of poets and classical scholars like Berg and Clay. The third, and most general category, is the translations of *Oedipus* made by various scholars of theatre and other people linked with it.

1.3.1. An experimentation with *Oedipus*: Vellacott's *Oedipus Tyrannus*

Let us now turn our attention to the first category of the new translations of *Oedipus*. In 1971 Philip Vellacott, a well-known Sophoclean scholar, had his new translation of *Oedipus Tyrannus* published.[437] The first thing that appears familiar to us is that, like Mendell's and Cook's translations, Vellacott's *Oedipus* is only a part of a wider study of *Oedipus*. Also like Cook, Vellacott designed his book *Sophocles and Oedipus* for students; but, unlike Cook, Vellacott is more specific; when he was writing this book he had in mind "students of world literature, and students of drama" (Vellacott ix). His primary aim was to provide them "with the means of studying closely in an English version one of the great classic plays, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, by Sophocles" (Vellacott ix).

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[437] Philip Vellacott, *Oedipus Tyrannus. Sophocles and Oedipus: A Study of Oedipus Tyrannus with a New Translation* (Ann Arbor: The U of Michigan P, 1972) 2-99; hereafter referred to as Vellacott.

In this publication, it is worth noticing that Vellacott offers two different translations, a poetical and a literal one. As he himself puts it, this "new translation ... aims at combining the greatest possible fidelity to the text with clarity and immediate impact of meaning, in a style which does not forget that the work is both a play and poem. It is printed on the right-hand pages; and opposite, on the left-hand pages, appears another version, as literal as possible (and with a few explanatory notes) so that the Greekless reader can look behind my verse translation, see how I arrived at it, and feel able to judge it" (Vellacott ix). Furthermore, in the Preface to *Sophocles and Oedipus*, the translator expresses the hope that his verse translation of *Oedipus* would "be found usable by a director who wants to stage the play in its traditional guise" (Vellacott ix); yet, there is no evidence that any of the translations by Vellacott has been either produced or reprinted or published in any anthology with high circulation.

1.3.2. A collaboration on translating Sophocles' *Oedipus*: Berg's and Clay's *Sophocles: Oedipus the King*

During the same period, a second tendency towards translating *Oedipus* is discernible: a collaboration of the poet Stephen Berg and the classical scholar and poet Diskin Clay; the result of their collaboration was *Sophocles: Oedipus the King*.[438] William Arrowsmith, the general editor of "The Greek Tragedy in New Translations," claims that the selection criteria for a translation are "based on the conviction that poets like ... Sophocles ... can only be properly rendered by translators who are themselves poets." He is very well aware, however, that to be a poet is not enough when a Greek tragedy is involved; the translator should have a sound knowledge of Greek. Therefore, he asserts that "[c]ollaboration between scholar and poet is therefore the essential operating principle of the series" and in cases he could not find scholar and poet in one person he teamed poets and scholars through collaboration to provide the English public with readable, speakable and playable versions (Berg and Clay, Editor's Forward n. pag.).

The same translation was also published in the highly-circulated anthology *Literature of the Western World* (1988), which was intended to fill "a need for an anthology suitable to world-literature surveys, as they are taught today."[439] This statement by the editors of this anthology is very important because it reinforces the phenomenon we have encountered in the previous sections and which we are going to see again later: the correlation between the growth of a more sophisticated readership (university population) and a slow but steady canonization process of Greek tragedy in general and *Oedipus the King* in particular.

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[438] Stephen Berg and Diskin Clay, *Sophocles: Oedipus the King*, ed. W. Arrosmith [The Greek Tragedy in New Translations] (New York: Oxford UP, 1978) 21-94; hereafter it will be mentioned as Berg and Clay.

1.3.3. Translations of *Oedipus* by theatre scholars and theatre people

The third and final group of new translations of *Oedipus* between the 1960s and the 1980s is comprised of the versions of *Oedipus* made by theatre scholars or theatre people. This category, however, is the most complex, and it can be divided into three sub-categories. The first consists of translations of *Oedipus* which were first performed and then published. The second sub-category contains translations of *Oedipus* which were first published and then produced. The third and last sub-category comprises a version/appropriation of *Oedipus* which was performed and published simultaneously.

1.3.3.1. Translations of *Oedipus* first performed and then published: Berkowitz's and Brunner's *Oedipus Tyrannus*

The only translation that fits in the first sub-category, that is the translations of *Oedipus* which were first performed and then published, is Luci Berkowitz's and Theodore F. Brunner's *Sophocles: Oedipus Tyrannus* (1970).[440] In the Preface to this edition the translators assure us that the text in this edition is the same as that "originally commissioned for stage production by the Repertory Theater at the University of California, Irvine under the direction of Robert Cohen" (Berkowitz and Brunner viii). Unfortunately, there is no reference to the year of the production and thus we are not sure whether the theatrical production and the publication of *Oedipus Tyrannus* occured simultaneously. Although there is no written evidence, we are inclined to believe that the published form of *Oedipus Tyrannus* by Berkowitz and Brunner followed the stage production rather than that the stage production and the publication occured simultaneously. What leads us to this assumption is the format of this publication, which must have taken the translators a great deal of time and effort to construct. We observe in the 1970 edition of Berkowitz's and Brunner's *Oedipus Tyrannus* that, besides the printed text of the translation--with dialogues in English prose and choruses in free verse,[441] there is the following extratextual material: (1) a very helpful map of Greece with the locations pertinent to the plot of *Oedipus*; (2) translated passages from ancient authors reconstructing the Oedipus myth; (3) some religious and psychoanalytical studies on the Oedipus myth and Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*; and (4) many other studies on Sophocles' *Oedipus* from antiquity up to the moment of the publication of this edition (1970).

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[439] Stephen Berg and Diskin Clay, *Oedipus the King*. *Literature of the Western World*, eds. B. Wilkie and J. Hurt, 2nd ed. vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan, 1988) 711-59.

[440] Luci Berkowitz and Theodore F. Brunner, *Sophocles: Oedipus Tyrannus* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1970) 1-33; referred to as Berkowitz and Brunner hereafter.

Yet, this is not an unusual layout for rendering an *Oedipus* which was first performed and then published. Similarly, Cook's *Oedipus Rex*, performed in 1948 and published in 1957, presents the same format of the extratextual material surrounding this translation of *Oedipus*.[442] In addition to the printed text of the translation of *Oedipus*, which was once used as the script for at least two theatrical productions,[443] Cook compiled, selected and categorized critical writings about the Oedipus myth and Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* from antiquity to the present. And it is exactly the same method that we observe in the 1970 edition of Berkowitz's and Brunner's *Oedipus Tyrannus*. The only difference between Cook's *Oedipus Rex: A Mirror for Greek Drama* and Berkowitz's and Brunner's *Oedipus Tyrannus* lies in the texts of the translations and in the criticism accompanying the translations; the criticism incorporated in Berkowitz's and Brunner's *Oedipus* is more recent than that in Cook's.

Being initially published by the W.W. Norton Company in 1970, Berkowitz's and Brunner's *Oedipus Tyrannus* appeared in all the literature and drama anthologies issued by the same publishing company during this period. It was printed simultaneously in the third edition of *The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces* (1973) and *The Norton Introduction to Literature: Drama* (1973).[444] It also appeared in the third edition of *The Continental Edition of Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces* in 1974 and in the fourth edition of *The Norton Anthology of World Materpieces* (1979).[445] Thus, Berkowitz's and

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[441] Berkowitz and Brunner 1-33.

[442] Albert Cook, *Oedipus Rex. Ten Greek Plays in Contemporary Translations*, ed. L.R. Lind (Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside P & Houghton Mifflin, 1957) 117-53.

[443] Cook's *Oedipus Rex* was performed first at the Tributary Theater of Boston in 1948 and then at the Cleveland Playhouse in 1958; we have discussed this script/translation in section 1.2.5. of this chapter.

[444] See: (1) Luci Berkowitz and Theodore F. Brunner, *Oedipus Tyrannus. The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces*, eds. Maynard Mack et al., 3rd ed., vol. 1 (New York: W.W. Norton, 1973) 343-72; (2) Luci Berkowitz and Theodore F. Brunner, *Oedipus Tyrannus. The Norton Introduction to Literature: Drama*, ed. Carl E. Bain (New York: W.W. Norton, 1973) 463-87.

[445] See: (1) Luci Berkowitz and Theodore F. Brunner, *Oedipus Tyrannus. The Continental Edition of Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces*, eds. Maynard Mack et al, 3rd ed., vol. 1 (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974) 343-72; (2) Luci Berkowitz and Theodore F. Brunner, *Oedipus Tyrannus. The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces*, eds. Maynard Mack et al, 4th ed., vol. 1 (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979) 349-78.

Brunner's version of *Oedipus Tyrannus* became one of the most frequently published and read translations of *Oedipus* among the university population across North America, since the *Norton Anthologies* were used primarily in survey courses of world literature and/or more specialized courses in comparative literature.

1.3.3.2. Translations of *Oedipus* first Published and then Performed or not Performed

1.3.3.2.1. Cavander's *Oedipus the King*

The second sub-category of the new translations of *Oedipus the King* made by theatre scholars or people associated with the theatre consists of all versions of this drama which were first published and then produced, or were not put on stage at all. During this period the only new version of *Oedipus* which was published in 1961 and produced in 1965 was Kenneth Cavander's *Oedipus the King*[446] This rendering of *Oedipus* appeared either in collections of classical Greek and Roman plays[447] or in highly-circulated anthologies for theatre.[448] What is peculiar in Cavander's version of *Oedipus the King* is that, although, as far as we know, it was published exclusively by American publishing houses, its first theatrical production took place at the Mermaid Theatre, London, England, four years after its first edition in 1965. According to Walton, the significance of this production does not rest in Cavander's translation of *Oedipus* but in the Mermaid Theatre itself which, at the time under the direction of Bernard Miles, had given a sense of continuity in the productions of Greek tragedies in England.[449] Unfortunately, apart from the information provided by Walton, we have been unable to trace additional material relevant to any other possible productions of the same translation either in the U.K. or in North America.

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[446] Kenneth Cavander, *Oedipus the King* [Chandler Editions of Drama] (San Francisco: Chandler, 1961).

[447] See Kenneth Cavander: (1) *Sophocles: Oedipus the King, Philoctetes, Electra, Antigone in Modern Translations*, ed. Robert W. Corrigan, 2nd print [The Laurel Classical Drama] (New York: Dell, 1966) 647-125; and (2) *Oedipus the King. Classical Tragedy, Greek and Roman: 8 Plays in Authoritative Modern Translations Accompanied by Critical Essays*, ed. Robert W. Corrigan (New York: applause, 1990) 183-244.

[448] Kenneth Cavander, *Sophocles: Oedipus the King. Drama in the Western World*, ed. Samuel A. Weiss (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1968) 1-39.

[449] See J. Michael Walton, "England," *Living Greek Theatre: A Handbook of Classical Performance and Modern Production* (New York, Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood P, 1987) 345.

1.3.3.2.2. Arnott's and MacLeish's *Oedipus the King*

Meanwhile, there were a few other new translations of *Oedipus* made by theatre scholars on both sides of the Atlantic during this twenty-year period: Arnott's *Oedipus the King* (1950 and 1960),[450] MacLeish's *Oedipus the King* (1964, 1982).[451] It seems that only Arnott's *Oedipus the King* has been performed by Arnott's himself in a one-man *marionnette* version, mainly for university audiences. MacLeish's *Oedipus the King*, instead, although it was published in different collections and anthologies with high circulation, has never been produced; at least there is no report about any theatrical productions of his version of *Oedipus*.

1.3.3.3. Burgess's *Oedipus the King*

Among these translations of *Oedipus* made during this period by theatre scholars and theatre people, there was only one which was published while being performed: *Sophocles: Oedipus the King*, translated and adapted by Anthony Burgess.[452] This version of *Oedipus* is significant for our research for three reasons. First, apart from Dryden's *Oedipus*, it is the only English version of *Oedipus* which deviates a great deal from the story-line of Sophocles' *Oedipus*. Therefore, it cannot be considered an adaptation for the stage but rather a radical re-interpretation or appropriation of its Sophoclean counterpart. Second, it demonstrates before us two different processes, that of making this appropriation, and that of staging it. Third, during the unfolding of these processes we have the rare opportunity to see how the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatrical traditions and structural anthropology affected not only the processes of translating and staging a play but also the final products, that is the actual performance and published form of Burgess's *Oedipus the King*.

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[450] See: (1) Peter D. Arnott, *Sophocles: Oedipus the King and Antigone* [New Century Classics] (New York: Appleton-Century, 1950); (2) Peter D. Arnott, *Sophocles: Oedipus the King and Antigone* [Crofts Classics] (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1960); and (3) Peter D. Arnott, *Sophocles: Oedipus the King and Antigone* [Crofts Classics] (New York: AHM Publishing Corporation, 1960).

[451] See: (1) Kenneth McLeish, *Oedipus the King*. *Four Greek Plays*, trans. and adapted by Kenneth McLeish, with illustrations [The Heritage of Literature Series Section B. no 76] (London: Longmans, 1964) 1-53; and (2) Kenneth McLeish, *Oedipus the King*. *Four Greek Plays*, trans. and adapted by Kenneth McLeish, with illustrations [The Heritage of Literature Series Section B. no 76] (Essex: Longmans, 1982) 1-53.

[452] Anthony Burgess, *Sophocles: Oedipus the King*, translated and adapted by Anthony Burgess. With comments by Anthony Burgess, Michael Langham, and Stanley Silverman (Minneapolis: The U of Minnessota P, 1972) 7-80; hereafter it will be referred to as Burgess.

1.3.3.3.1. Burgess's intentions in appropriating Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*

In his preface "To the Reader," Burgess makes it clear that, when he started his "version," he "worked on it in no spirit of precise scholasticism but solely out of the desire to create a version suitable for a particular theatre and a particular director" (Burgess 3).[453] The striking aspect of this statement is that it resembles Yeats's, which had been made forty-four years before Burgess's *Oedipus* was published:

> This version of Sophocles' play [*Sophocles'* King Oedipus]was written for Dublin players, for Dublin liturgical singers, for a small auditorium, for a chorus that must stand stock still where the orchestra are accustomed to put their chairs, for an audience where nobody comes for self-improvement or for anything but emotion. In other words, I put readers and scholars out of my mind and wrote to be sung and spoken. (Yeats, *Sophocles'* King Oedipus v, vi)[454]

As Yeats himself admits, while writing his own version of *Oedipus*, he had in mind a specific cast of players (The Irish Players), theatre (The Abbey Theatre, Dublin) and his contemporary Irish theatrical audience. Apart from this similarity, another remarkable parallelism between Yeats's and Brugess's introductory notes is that both call their renderings of *Oedipus* a "version." As we have seen, there are many different connotations and ramifications attached to the term "version" when it is used by different translators or adapters. In Burgess's *Oedipus the King* the word "version" carries a whole new meaning, in that this version is not simply an adaptation of *Oedipus* for stage performance but rather a radical re-interpretation or a new appropriation of the Oedipus myth.

Burgess's *Oedipus the King*, although following some aspects of the plot of the Sophoclean *Oedipus*, departs from it in five essential ways. First, it brings inquisitive small children as members of the Chorus. Second, it adds what "relates chiefly to anterior action--Oedipus's solving of the riddle of the Sphinx"[455] without, however, presenting it as an unfolding action onstage; instead, he presents it as a dialogue between the elders and a child (Burgess 13-15). The third and most innovative part in this *Oedipus the King* is that Burgess makes Oedipus blind himself in full view of the audience. Fourth, after he blinds himself, Oedipus neither speaks to the Chorus nor participates in the action; instead he leaves the stage escorted by his daughters. Finally, Burgess concludes his *Oedipus* with a conversation between the Chorus Leader and a child about the slaughter of the Sphinx by Oedipus.

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[453] In this context, Burgess means the Tyrone Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis and the director Michael Langham.

[454] See also section 3.3. of Chapter III.

[455] Burgess 4.

Keeping in mind these substantial differences between Sophocles' and Burgess's *Oedipus the King*, we cannot consider the latter's version a simple adaptation for stage production or a "version for a Modern Stage" as was Yeats's *Sophocles'* *King Oedipus*. It is rather a more subjective attitude to the myth and the character of Oedipus; it is the only English version of *Oedipus*, with the exception of Dryden's *Oedipus*, that does not follow the plot of its Sophoclean model closely. Although Yeats and other adapters/translators added, omitted or moved some of the text of the Sophoclean *Oedipus* in their adaptations/translations, Burgess does something more: he went beyond it by adding Oedipus' anterior life and presenting Oedipus' self-affliction on stage.

But how could Burgess justify these drastic modifications in his own version? In his introductory note "To the Reader," he admits that there were two sources of his inspiration: first, the Senecan tradition in English literature as expressed in the Elizabethan and Jacobean writers and, second, the theories of structural anthropologist Lévi-Strauss (Burgess 3-4 and 5-6). On the one hand, Burgess reasons that, for an English theatrical audience noursihed with the Elizabethan and Jacobean tradition in theatre, it seems that it would be a perversion to hear simply the report of Oedipus' self-mutilation. Whereas the fifth-century Athenian theatrical practice and audience would not have tolerated any violence on stage, a contemporary English audience tends to enjoy seeing on stage what happens, even if the action itself is very violent. This is, at least, the reason that Burgess offers to justify why he made Oedipus blind himself in full view of the audience. Furthermore, he adds that he does not show Jocasta killing herself due to the negative Jacobean virtues of moderation.[456] According to these virtues, Burgess says that, if had he also presented Jocasta killing herself in full view of the audience, his *Oedipus the King* would have been intolerable even for a modern audience.[457]

On the other hand, in the same introductory note "To the Reader," Burgess states that Lévi-Strauss's discussion of the relationship between riddle and incest affected him so much that he was led to write a novel called *MF* (or *M/F* or *M.F.*) (Burgess 5). It was only when he had finished this novel that Burgess decided to explore Lévi-Strauss's structural association between three seemingly unrelated elements: the act of incest, the riddle and the animal-human destroyer in order to re-write Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*. To comprehend the extent of Lévi-Strauss's influence on Burgess, we need to discuss which ideas expressed by Lévi-Strauss regarding the Oedipus myth can be traced in Burgess's appropiation of *Oedipus*.

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[456] Burgess 3-4.

[457] As discussed in section 2.2. of Chapter III, the wholesale butchery at the end of Dryden's *Oedipus* made this Jacobean tragedy one of the bloodiest in the Jacobean literature and thus unbearable not only to its contemporary audience but also to the next generations.

1.3.3.3.2. Claude Lévi-Strauss and the Oedipus myth

The fundamental principle running through Lévi-Strauss's thought, as presented in most of his writings, is the notion of myth-making's "poetic wisdom" which animates the response to the world of so-called "primitive peoples." According to Lévi-Strauss, the heart of the matter is that myth furnishes a "logical" model by means of which the human mind can wade through contradictions, such as the fact that human beings cannot enjoy life without suffering death or that the rule of incest (which specifies that legitimate sex relations can only be between members of opposed kin groups) can conflict with a doctrine of unilineal descent. Moreover, Lévi-Strauss holds that the function of myth is to "mediate" such contradictions, to make them appear less final that they really are and thus more acceptable. This end is not served by isolated myths but by clusters of myths that are similar in some ways but different in others so that, in accumulation, they tend to blur the edges of real (but unwelcome) category distinctions. Among the examples that Lévi-Strauss used to illustrate his thesis are certain myths of North American Indians and the old Greek myth of Oedipus.[458]

Regarding the Oedipus myth, Lévi-Strauss argues that the central problem with which this myth is concerned is that of autochtonous creation. In the beginning man was created; but who was precisely created? A man plus a woman of the same kind? If so then the perpetuation of mankind must depend upon incest and we are all born in sin. Or was there a double creation--a man plus a woman of a different kind? In that case what are these two original kinds, and how can we justify a claim to descent from one line of ancestors rather than another?

If we now wonder what all this has to do with the Oedipus myth as we know it, we should consider first that Lévi-Strauss assumes that the myth has a logical form corresponding to the equation: a:b :: c:d,[459] and second, his famous and controversial 4-column "decoding" of the "score" of the Oedipus myth.[460] According to Lévi-Strauss, the theme of incest, or the overrating of blood relations,[461] is balanced against the themes of patricide and fratricide, or the underrating of blood relations.[462] The balance observed between these two kinds of blood relations corresponds to a similar balance noticed between the highly ambivalent Sphinx and Oedipus, who, in isolation, is incomplete and crippled. The Sphinx is a kind of merging of the two parent figures Jocasta and Laius. Oedipus' legitimate task is to eliminate the Sphinx. He accomplishes this end by sinning doubly--committing patricide against Laius and incest with Jocasta. Oedipus does not actually kill the Sphinx. The Sphinx, which is primarily female, commits suicide, as does Jocasta. The cause of the suicide is that Oedipus answers the riddle -- the answer being, in effect; "the son grows into the father and replaces him."[463] In the context of Lévi-Strauss's more general discussion of myth, the Oedipus myth centres in the patrilinear descent: the requirement that fathers be perpetuated in their sons without the intervention of women, a fact which is plainly impossible. Nonetheless, the myth resolves this impossibility by mediating the antithesis between male and female parents into the ambivalent person of the Sphinx.

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[458] Lévi-Strauss makes a detailed comparison between North American Indians and the Oedipus myth in his *Anthropologie structurale deux* (Paris: Plon, 1973) 31-35. He describes his picking of the Oedipus myth as a "huckster's"choice reflecting the universality of this myth.

[459] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques* (Paris: Plon, 1955) 55-56.

[460] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropologie structurale* (Paris: Plon, 1958) 236; hereafter it will be referred to as *A.S.*

[461] Or as Lévi-Strauss puts it, "*des rapports de parenté surestimés*"; *A.S.* 237; author's emphasis.

Moreover, in his analysis of the Oedipus myth, Lévi-Strauss makes a sporadic but acute critique of Freud's discussion of Oedipus and shows determination to appropriate the Oedipus motif to a larger context than that put forward by Freud (*A.S.* 242). Although he agrees with Freud that the primary meaning of the Oedipus myth points to the immense intellectual and psychological problem faced by a society that professes to believe in the authochtonous creation of a man when it has to deal with the recognition of the bisexual nature of human generation, Lévi-Strauss maintains that the Oedipus motif does not embody individual neurosis but rather a collective attempt to reconstruct reality in response to fresh and perplexing insights. Therefore, the Freudian theory of consciousness emerges as a valuable but essentially specialized and preliminary draft of Lévi-Strauss's larger anthropological project, his *Anthropologie structurale*.

1.3.3.3.3. Lévi-Strauss's anthropological theories and Burgess's *Oedipus the King*

Among the several issues Lévi-Strauss raises, two points are crucial for our discussion. The first is Lévi-Strauss's belief in the apparent universality of myth among all primitive people and thus a closeness between various and diverse cultures. It is exactly this belief in the universality of myth that is reflected in Burgess's introductory note "To the Reader" and in the exchange of letters between the adapter Burgess, the director Michael

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[462] Or as Lévi-Strauss puts it, "*des rapports de parenté sous-estimés ou dévalués*"; *A.S.* 237; author's emphasis.

[463] *A.S.* 238.

Langham and the composer Stanley Silverman (Burgess 3-6 and 83-94). It is because of their belief in the universality of myth and, thus, that of music among primitive people that Silverman and Langham were "drawn toward Tibetan chants, the Pygmies, Hebraic influence, the Greek Orthodox Church, and Coptic chants" for the production of Burgess's *Oedipus the King*, and made Burgess admit that "the Indo-European sounds [Langham and Silverman have] composed for the beginning are overpowering" (Burgess 86 and 93 respectively).

The second and more important point in Lévi-Strauss's discussion of the Oedipus myth is his analysis of the interrelation between the riddle, the Sphinx (the animal in the man), Oedipus and the incest. The riddle itself is a sign of hidden meanings which are too conflicting and painful to be disclosed and thus solved. It is along these lines that Burgess fashioned his version of *Oedipus*. In the long conversation between one of the children and the elders at the beginning of his *Oedipus the King*, the theme of the "unanswerability" of the riddle recurs very often:

> SECOND ELDER
> The point about the riddle was
> That it was unanswerable.
> Difficult or easy - that was never the point.
> The riddle was unanswered because
> It was unanswerable
> (Burgess 15)

The unanswerability of the riddle, however, is closely related to the very survival of the Sphinx. Once Oedipus "met the Sphinx and answered / The unanswerable," the Sphinx "in Chagrin / She killed herself" (Burgess 15). The striking similarities observed in Lévi-Strauss and Burgess's approach to the Oedipus myth are primarily concentrated on two elements that cannot be found in Greek literature or mythology: first, the description of Oedipus' victory over the Sphinx as a decisive moment in Oedipus' life and, second, the suicide of the Sphinx.[464]

Undoubtedly, Lévi-Strauss and Burgess's preoccupation with this part of the Oedipus myth leads them to similar conclusions. First, they both believe that there is a sinister relationship between the holder of the riddle (the Sphinx) and its solver (Oedipus), fostering almost immediately the real incestuous relationship between Oedipus and Jocasta after the riddle has been solved. Second, for both Lévi-Strauss and Burgess it is obvious that there is always a danger for the riddle solver to turn from human into animal once he uncovers hidden things not meant to be answered.

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[464] As discussed in section 1.3.3.3.2. of this chapter Lévi-Strauss claims that Oedipus did not kill the Sphinx but it was rather the Sphinx who killed herself.

> CHILD
> He had only one enemy. And that was the Sphinx
> But he killed the Sphinx.
> CHORUS LEADER
> Perhaps it was better to be killed by it.
> The riddle was not to be answered.
> CHILD
> But he answered it. He saved us.
> That's the story we're told.
> CHORUS LEADER
> It is dangerous to answer riddles,
> But some men are born to answer them.
> It is the god's doing. They hide themselves in riddles
> We must not try to understand too much.
> (Burgess 79-80)

In our discussion of Burgess's version of *Oedipus the King*, we have seen the direct and/or indirect impact of another social discourse: Lévi-Strauss's structural anthropology. Although we cannot claim that Lévi-Strauss's anthropological theories regarding the Oedipus myth were as influential as Nietzsche's at the turn of our century, we can assert that, combined with Freud's theories of "Oedipus Complex", the ongoing widening of the North American readership (university population) and the slow but steady process of canonization of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus the King*, Lévi-Strauss structural anthropology and the emergence of structuralism must have been a springboard for the flooding of the North American market with new versions and performances of *Oedipus the King* as well as with articles on this Sophoclean articles.

2. FROM 1980 TO THE PRESENT: TRANSLATIONS, THEATRICAL PERFORMANCES, RADIO AND TV THEATRICAL PRODUCTIONS OF *OEDIPUS THE KING*

2.1. Penguin editions of *Oedipus*: Watling's *King Oedipus* (1947-1984) and Fagles's *Oedipus the King* (1982/1984-up to the present)

Meanwhile, in 1982 a new translation of Sophocles' *Oedipus* appeared in the North American and British markets simultaneously: Robert Fagles' *Oedipus the King*.[465] This translation was destined to be one of the most influential translations of *Oedipus the King* in English since it was first published by the Penguin Classics.[466] Up to 1984, among the most influential translations of *Oedipus* was Watling's *King Oedipus* which was published in 1947 by the Penguin Classics simultaneously in Baltimore, Maryland, in Australia, the U.S.A. and the U.K.[467] But why had Penguin Books, one of the most important publishing houses in translated literature, decided to change the translator and translation of this Sophoclean tragedy after almost fifty years of publishing Watling's *King Oedipus*? To understand more clearly the change in the process of publishing we shall start with a textual comparison between these two different editions and then venture to define the term "a successful translation." In conclusion, we shall have the opportunity to explore how certain patterns emerging from the popularity of these translations of *Oedipus* with the British and North American target systems (TSs) can show the interrelationship between the process of canonization of *Oedipus*, as a cornerstone of the Western theatrical and dramatical tradition, and the variability of the wider English TS.

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[465] Robert Fagles, *Oedipus the King. Sophocles: The Tree Theban Plays*, introduction and notes by Bernard Knox (New York: The Viking P, 1982) 112-232 and *Oedipus the King. Sophocles: The Tree Theban Plays*, introduction and notes by Bernard Knox (London: Allen Lane, 1982); the 1982 edition is out of print.

2.1.1. Textual differences between Watling's *King Oedipus* (1947) and Fagles's *Oedipus the King* (1984)

Let us now turn our attention to the beginning of the texts of Watling's *King Oedipus* and Fagles's *Oedipus the King*, and see how each of these scholars rendered the introductory speech delivered by Oedipus.

The opening speech of Oedipus (vv. 1-13) in the texts under discussion appears as follows:

Watling's *King Oedipus*	**Fagles's *Oedipus the King***
OEDIPUS: Children, new blood of Cadmus'ancient line	Oh my children, the new blood of ancient Thebes,
What is the meaning of this supplication,	why are you here? Huddling at my altar,
These branches and garlands, the incense filling the city,	praying before me, your branches wound in wool.[468]
These prayers for the healing of pain, these lamentations?	Our city reeks with the smoke of burning insense,
I have not thought it fit to rely on my messengers	rings with cries for the Healer and wailing for the dead.
But came here to learn for myself - I, Oedipus,	I thought it wrong, my children, to hear the truth
Whose name is known afar.	from others, messengers. Here I am myself—

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[466] Robert Fagles, *Oedipus the King: Sophocles. The Tree Theban Plays*, introduction and notes by Bernard Knox (London: Penguin Books, 1984) 129-251; any quotations will be taken from the 1988 edition and referred to as Fagles.

[467] E.F. Watling, *King Oedipus. Sophocles: The Theban Plays* [The Penguin Classics L3] (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books 1947) 23-68. Any references are taken from this edition and referred to as Watling.

[468] The opening scene of *Oedipus* is ritually significant because it would have reminded Athenian audience of scapegoat ritual. Nevertheless, as we emphasized in footnote 103, this dissertation is not a study of ritualistic aspects of *Oedipus* but rather an effort to show how this tragedy was received by the English-speaking world through translations and performances. Any references to ritualistic aspects of *Oedipus* are made either to support our argument or to illuminate some passages.

(*To the* PRIEST) You, reverend sir,
In right of age, should speak of all of them.
What is the matter? Some Fear? Something you desire?
I would willingly do anything to help you;
Indeed I should be heartless, were I to stop my ears
To a general petition such as this.

you all know me, the world knows my fame:
I am Oedipus.
Helping a Priest to his feet
Speak up, old man. Your years,
your dignity —you should speak for the others.
Why here and kneeling, what preys upon you so?
Some sudden fear? some strong desire?
You can trust me. I am ready to help,
I'll do anything. I would be blind to misery
not to pity my people kneeling at my feet.

At first glance, one difference, although superficial and quantitative, becomes obvious; whereas Watling's translation has 13 lines, Fagles's consists of 16; still there are some similarities between these two excerpts. First, both passages present Oedipus coming unexpectedly on stage, thus forming our first view of Oedipus: a man in the public eye, a beloved ruler who is sought by his people. Second, both Watling and Fagles's renderings provide the visual relationship between the "solitary" figure of Oedipus and the large group of the suppliants which is immediately reinforced in a very striking way: "Ὦ τέκνα..." "Children ..." (Watling), "Oh my children ... " (Fagles). This is the very first word of the tragedy and shows Oedipus' role at this point: he is the leader, the protector and the patriarch of this people. Yet the similarities of these passages end here.

Perhaps the first and the most evident difference between the English translations of *Oedipus* is Watling's "Children" and Fagles's "Oh my children." The former sounds more abrupt, carries imperative overtones and also signifies Oedipus' effort to draw the immediate attention of this assembly (including the audience) to himself; the latter, instead, is an exclamation of surprise and pity at the same time. In contrast with Watling's more demanding and abrupt "Children", Fagles's "Oh my children" represents better the concern of a leader for his people as well as his sympathy for them. This mixture of concern, sympathy and pity is not only expressed by the rest of the speech but also by the repetition of the same word "τέκνα" (6) which is omitted in Watling's but rendered as "my children" by Fagles.

The opening word "Ὦ τέκνα" is also of great importance because, on the semantic level, it connotes something more: that the speaker has an intimate relation with his interlocutors. The intimacy between Oedipus and the first assembly of people is also coupled by Oedipus' "ὦ γεραιέ, φράζ᾽" (9). In this phrase, the exclamatory "ὦ γεραιέ" (oh old man) conveys not only intimacy but also respect and softens down the imperative "φράζ᾽" (speak up). This simple phrase, which is, however, a carrier of many denotations and codes of social behaviour, is translated as "[y]ou, reverend sir ... should speak" by Watling and as "[s]peak up old man" by Fagles. The fundamental difference between these two renderings is that in the former there is no such intimacy in Oedipus' address to the Old

Priest ,and there is nothing of the swifteness and the expectancy of the original. In contrast, Fagles's "[s]peak up old man" conveys not only the intimacy between Oedipus and the Old Priest but also the expectancy and impatience of Oedipus to hear why this group of people has gathered in front of his palace and what they expect from him.

The difference in social codes and behaviour between these two renderings is striking, and we may wonder why. At this point we may conjecture that this difference is the result of the subtle impact of the two already differentiated British and American TSs and of two different periods. We should not forget, on the one hand, that Watling was a classical scholar who was brought up in England, where monarchy is one of the traditional aspects of British constitutional life. Moreover, he wrote his version for a wider, mainly British public in the late 1940s. If we think in these terms, it is not strange that there is a social distance between Oedipus and the suppliants. On the other hand, Fagles is a classical scholar who has been raised in the U.S.A., which is a republic. Furthermore, he wrote his *Oedipus the King* for a wider English public of the early 1980s, a public which was further removed from Greek studies than that of England in 1947. This is one of the reasons why the translated text in Fagles' translation of *Oedipus the King* always seems longer, more explanatory and specific than Watling's *King Oedipus*. One of the most characteristic examples of this attitude is the rendering of the initial situation at Thebes; whereas Watling translates it into "... this supplication / These branches and garlands ...," Fagles renders it into "[h]uddling at my altar, / praying before me, your branches wound in wool." In Fagles's rendering we are able to see two different dynamics; first we can perceive the horror of the full scene more visually and vividly than in Watling's. Second, we discern a conscious effort on behalf of Fagles to make the text of his translation longer in oder to facilitate our understanding of *Oedipus* and, thus, "compensate" us with passages that will help us feel closer to the original. A better example of this mechanism used by Fagles is his effort to avoid using "Cadmus" or any other Greek mythological name in the rest of his translation which may mean nothing to an average contemporary reader; instead, he employs "ancient Thebes."

2.1.2. Special Position of Fagles's *Oedipus the King* in English

2.1.2.1. A wider readership

As discussed earlier, both Watling's *King Oedipus* and Fagles's *Oedipus the King* made Sophocles' old Greek tragedy *Oedipus the King* more accessible to a wider English public. Yet, it is Fagles' *Oedipus the King* that is of great importance for a wider English TS. This importance lies in many and different factors, which disclose several dynamics operating within the British and North American TSs.

Besides the fact that it was repeatedly reprinted by the Penguin Books, Robert Fagles's *Oedipus the King* was published in various anthologies.[469] First, and only one year after its publication by the Penguin Classics, Fagles's *Oedipus the King* appeared in the *Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces* (1985), where it has been published ever since then. Second, it was repeatedly published in anthologies of literature, such as: *Classics of Literature* (1988), *An Introduction to Literature* (1988), *Adventures in World Literature* (1990), *Introduction to Literature* (2nd ed., 1990), *Introduction to Literature* (5th ed. and short ed., 1990), *Discovering Literature* (1992), *The Bedford Introduction to Literature* (1993).[470] Third, it was circulated through theatre or drama anthologies such as: *Eight Plays for Theater* (1988), *Types of Drama* (1988), *Anthology of World Drama* (1990), *Introduction to Drama* (1991).[471] Fourth, it was also reprinted in anthologies of Western thought or Humanities like: *Classics of Western Thought: The Ancient World* (1988), *Variations on Humanities* (1991), *Reading in Western Humanities* (1992).[472] Fifth, excerpts from the same version have also been used in various books like: *Ancient Greek Ethics: An Introduction* (1991) and *Theatre as Sign-System. A Semiotics of Text and Performance* (1991).[473]

Although it may be too early to draw definive conclusions, we can affirm that Fagles's *Oedipus the King* has been one of the most popular translations, if not the most popurlar translation, of *Oedipus* in English since its first publication in the Penguin Classics in 1984 and in the *Norton Anthology* in 1985. We can also assert that this translation has been considered suitable for different kinds of readers; for example, a diverse readership oscillating between average non-Greek readers and students and scholars in the departments of Classics has benefited from the Penguin Classics edition of *Oedipus the King*. Second, students and scholars of English and comparative literature, who have employed either the various editions of the *Norton Anthology of World Literature* or some other anthologies, have been able to read and comprehend Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* thanks to Fagles' contemporary English idiom. Third, Fagles's rendering of *Oedipus* have been used by students and scholars in many theatre or drama departments since this translation was also published in various drama anthologies. Finally, another kind of sophisticated readership has benefited from Fagles's *Oedipus the King*: theatre semioticians or philosophers.

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[469] I am deeply obliged to Robert Fagles (Department of Comparative Literature, Princeton University) who so kindly offered me most of the information used in this section. I should also recognize that without his support and engouragement, I would not have been able to complete this part of my dissertation.

[470] See under "Fagles, Robert" in section C.3. of the Selected Bibliography.

[471] See under "Fagles, Robert" in section C.3. of the Selected Bibliography.

[472] See under "Fagles, Robert" in section C.3. of the Selected Bibliography.

[473] See under "Fagles, Robert" in section C.3. of the Selected Bibliography.

2.1.2.2. A wider theatrical audience

Such success can deceive, for it can lead to the misconception that this translation has remained only a printed text. We could have been led to the wrong assumption if we had not been provided with additional important information. Therefore, it is our intention in this sub-section to show that a very successful translation of a theatre text, like Fagles's *Oedipus the King*, can be equally a successful script when produced in theatre, and broadcast in radio and television.[474]

Upon its first publication in the U.S.A. (1982) and in the U.K. (1984), Fagles's *Oedipus the King* has been performed at least eighteen times in the U.S.A., Canada, the U.K. and Australia, it has been broadcast once by the BBC Radio and produced for a TV program in Maryland. Looking closer at the Selected Bibliography ("Fagles, Robert" [section C.3.]), we can elicit three major categories in the theatrical performances of Fagles's version of *Oedipus the King*. First, Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* in Fagles's version was produced at colleges or universities in North America and, to a lesser degree in the U.K. Second, we observe that in North America Fagles's *Oedipus the King* was not produced by many professional theatrical companies but primarily by theatre students at colleges or universities. This situation points to two different but co-existing dynamics within the wider North American TS: (1) the slow process of canonization of *Oedipus the King*, as one of the most important plays in the Western tradition, after most of theatre or drama departments were established in the 1950s; and (2) a discernible differentiation in the perception and reception of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus the King* by the North American and British TSs. This differentiation can be understood when we consider the third and final category. In the U.K. Fagles' *Oedipus the King* was produced primarily by professional companies rather than by theatre students at colleges or universities. Therefore, the situation of the North American and British theatrical publics seems to be reversed. In the U.K. Fagles's *Oedipus the King* was performed primarily by professional companies. This slow but steady differentiation between the North American and British TSs will also be discussed in section 2.3. of this chapter.

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[474] I am deeply grateful to Robert Fagles (Department of Comparative Literature, Princeton University) who so kindly offered me such valuable information about the performances of his *Oedipus*. Needless to say, that without his help, I would not have been able to develop this section or, worse, I could have drawn the wrong conclusions.

2.2. *Oedipus the King* in English: Various Reprints of Earlier Translations mainly in the U.S.A. and some Adaptations for Stage in the U.K. from 1980 up to the present

2.2.1. Various reprints of earlier translations in the U.S.A.

While Fagles's *Oedipus the King* continued to be published by Penguin Books and edited in various anthologies, some earlier translations of *Oedipus* were also reprinted in anthologies since the early 1980s. The first example is Grene's *Oedipus the King* which was edited as part of *The Plays of Sophocles* in the Encyclopaedia Britannica series.[475] Yet it is surprising to observe that most of the reprints of the translations of *Oedipus*, such as Bagg's *Oedipus the King*, Banks's *Oedipus the King*, Cook's *Oedipus Rex: A Mirror for Greek Drama* and McLeish's *Oedipus the King* appeared in 1982,[476] the year when Fagles's *Oedipus the King* was first published by the American publishing house Viking Press.[477] Later, we shall see some earlier translations like those by Fitts and Fitzgerald, Gassner and Cavander being reprinted occasionally,[478] while Fagles's *Oedipus the King* has been reprinted in Penguin Books and various other anthologies.

In the reprints of earlier versions of *Oedipus the King* during this period, it is worth making two observations. First, with the exception only of McLeish's *Oedipus the King*, all other reissues of the translations occured primarily in North America, thus confirming the conclusions we have drawn in earlier sections, that from the 1960s onwards the demand for translations of literature and drama in general and for *Oedipus* in particular has been, proportionally speaking, much greater in North America than in the U.K.

Second, among all the new translations of this play, the only version that was first produced and then published was that by Robert Bagg. The significance of this example for our study lies in the fact that this is another example of a script/translation which was first performed by the students of the Department of Theater at the University of Utah in 1980 and then published in 1982. Furthermore, it supports one of our earlier observations that during the decades under discussion most of the performances of Greek tragedies and *Oedipus the King* in North America were not performed by professional theatre companies but rather by students of Theatre/Drama departments.[479]

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[475] David Grene, *Oedipus the King*. *The Plays of Sophocles: The Great Books of the Western World*, eds. Robert Maynard Hutchins and Mortimer J. Adler [Encyclopaedia Britannica] (Franklin Center, Penn: The Franklin Library, 1980) 3-73; see also section 1.2.2. of this chapter.

[476] See: (1) Robert Bagg, *Oedipus the King by Sophocles* (Amherst, Mass.: U of Mass. P, 1982); (2) Theodore H. Banks, *Oedipus the King*. *Three Theban Plays* (New York: Oxford UP, 1982); (3) Albert Cook, *Oedipus Rex: A Mirror for Greek Drama* (Prospect Heights, Il: Waveland P, 1982) 19-53; and (4) Kenneth McLeish, *Oedipus the King*. *Four Greek Plays* (London: Longmans, 1982) 1-53.

[477] Robert Fagles, *Oedipus the King*. *Sophocles: The Three Theban Plays*, introduction and notes by B. Knox (New York: The Viking P, 1982) 112-232.

[478] See: (1) Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald, *Oedipus Rex*. *Our Dramatic Heritage*, ed. Philip G. Hill (London and Toronto: Associated U Presses, 1983) 64-89; (2) John Gassner, "Oedipus Rex," *An Introduction to Theatre and Drama*, eds. Marshall and Pat Cassady (Lincolnwood, IL: Passport Books, 1985) 14-49; and (3) Kenneth Cavader, *Oedipus the King*. *Classical Tragedy. Greek and Roman: 8 Plays in Authoritative Modern Translations accompanied by Critical Essays*, ed. Robert W. Corrigan (New York: Applause, 1990) 183-244.

2.2.2. New versions of *Oedipus* in the U.K.: Theatrical performances, radio broadcasts and TV productions

One or two years after the first publication of Fagles's *Oedipus the King* by Penguin Books in 1984 and, while some previous versions of the same tragedy continued to be reprinted, three new versions appeared primarily in the British market: (1) Stephen Spender's *King Oedipus* (1985);[480] (2) C.A. Trypanis's *King Oedipus* (1986);[481] and (3) Don Taylor's *Oedipus the King* (1986).[482] We will now discuss about the printed forms of these versions of *Oedipus* in some detail, for they reinforce the conclusions that we have drawn earlier that there has been a slow but steady differentiation between the North American and British TSs in perceiving and receiving Greek tragedy and Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* since the 1960s and more particulary since the1980s.

2.2.2.1. Spender's *King Oedipus* commissioned and produced by the Oxford Playhouse in 1981 and 1983; published in 1985

The first thing to realize when we open the published form of Spender's *King Oedipus* is that it is a part of a trilogy: *The Oedipus Trilogy*, which consists of three Sophoclean tragedies: *King Oedipus*, *Oedipus at Colonos* and *Antigone*. Our first impression is further reinforced by the adapter's remarks that he was invited by the Oxford Playhouse "to write a version in which the three plays could be produced as one play in three acts, to be performed within the space of a single evening" (Spender 11). From this statement we understand that the script used in the production at the Oxford Playhouse in Oxford in 1981 and at the Arts Theatre in Cambridge in 1983 must have been much shorter than its published form. As Spender himself admits, the rehearsals gave him not only the rare opportunity to hear the words which he had written spoken by others, but also motivated him to rewrite the initial script so that its published form has very little in common with it. These statements provide a rare insight into the complex process of a performed text becoming published. While writing his version of *The Oedipus Trilogy* for publication, Spender bore something else in mind: how to make the written text easy to speak or read. Being a poet himself, Spender did not have as many problems with the English language as with the original Greek text. Because he did not know Greek, he used as his primary source Jebb's literal prose translation of *Oedipus Tyrannus* as it appears in Oates's and O'Neil's anthology *The Complete Greek Drama* (Spender 11).[483] In the Introduction to *The Oedipus Trilogy*, Spender also states that he usually rendered the dialogues of all three plays into prose and the choruses into verse. Otherwise, his versions do not deviate from the story-line of the original plays.

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[479] See section 2.1.2.2. of this chapter.

[480] Stephen Spender, *King Oedipus. The Oedipus Trilogy* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1985) 27-90; hereafter quoted as Spender.

[481] C.A. Trypanis, *King Oedipus. Sophocles: The Three Theban Plays* (Warminster, Wiltshire: Aris & Philips, Teddington House, 1986) 1-49; hereafter referred to as Trypanis.

[482] Don Taylor, *Oedipus the King. The Theban Plays* (London: Methuen Drama, 1986 and 1991) 1-61.

2.2.2.2. Trypanis's *King Oedipus* commissioned and Radio broadcast by BBC-Third Programme in 1957-58; performed at the National Theatre in London; published in 1986

Like the published form of Spender's *King Oedipus*, Trypanis's is also part of the trilogy: *Sophocles: The Three Theban Plays. King Oedipus--Oedipus at Colonus--Antigone* and was commissioned by BBC-Radio. There are, however, some puzzling aspects of this publication that cannot be resolved by the Foreword and/or the Introduction to this anthology. For example, why is there such a long time span between its first radio production (1957-58), its very first theatrical performance at the National Theatre at London (date unavailable) and its first publication (1986)? What did the translator/adapter had in mind when making his version of *Oedipus*? This set of questions cannot be answered because, although Trypanis makes an excellent presentation of the story-line and the issues raised by all these tragedies, he avoids making any comments about the way he rendered these Greek dramas into English. The only thing we know for certain is that the printed texts in this anthology are the same as the texts or the "acting translations" that were broadcast by BBC in 1957-58. We further infer from the Foreword to this anthology that Trypanis is a Greek who has lived in England for many years and who established himself by writing poetry in English and by being a classical and Byzantine scholar.

The difference between Spender and Trypanis becomes immediately clear. Although these adapters/translators are both poets who tried to make *Oedipus* (and the rest of the Sophoclean tragedies) more actable and readable, Spender is a native speaker of English who has no knowledge of classical Greek. Trypanis instead is a native speaker of

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[483] Sir R.C. Jebb, "Oedipus the King," *The Complete Drama*, eds. W.J. Oates and Eugene O'Neil, vol. 1 (Random House, 1938) 368-418. The edition of Jebb's *The Oedipus Tyrannus* in various anthologies and its impact upon the English-speaking world has been discussed in some detail in section 3.1. of Chapter III.

Greek, fluent in all historical varieties of the Greek language, as well as a poet who writes in English. This, of course, raises fundamental theoretical questions in translation studies, questions with which we shall try to deal in Chapter VI.

2.2.2.3. Taylor's *Oedipus the King* was commissioned and TV produced by BBC in 1986; it was also published in 1986 and reprinted in 1991

Like the versions of *King Oedipus* made by Spender and Trypanis, Taylor's *Oedipus the King* is a part of the trilogy: *Sophocles. The Theban Plays: Oedipus the King, Oedipus at Colonus and Antigone*.[484] What, however, becomes immediately apparent is the difference in the title of *Oedipus* and the general title of the anthology. Like Spender and Trypanis, Taylor discusses the importance of these three plays in the Introduction to this anthology. Unlike Spender and Trypanis, however, Taylor discusses very thoroughly how he adapted these plays for a BBC-TV production in the Translator's Note: Sophocles English'd (Taylor 189-200). In the Translator's Note we also find much information about Taylor's interests, and thus we are able to deduce and understand some similarities and differences between his *Oedipus* and those by Spender and Trypanis.

For example, we soon realize that, in contrast with Spender and Trypanis, Taylor is a playwright and a leading director of plays for both television and theatre. Therefore, he is much more experienced with theatre and theatre productions than the other two. Like Spender but unlike Trypanis, Taylor knows no Greek; thus he "worked from one especially commissioned literal translation" and consulted the work of many other translators (Taylor 191). In this statement we see another striking similarity, but also a noticeable difference between Spender and Taylor's attitude towards their primary texts. Both Spender and Taylor admit that, because of the lack of their knowledge of Greek, they used an intertext (an intermediary) to make their new versions of the three Sophoclean plays. They used either Jebb's *The Oedipus Tyrannus* or another literal translation as the primary source for their own version. This is the phenomenon of intralingual intertextuality. As discussed earlier, intralingual intertextuality is the presence of intertextuality between two or more texts written in the same language.[485] In this context, this kind of intertextuality refers to Spender's indebtedness to Jebb and Taylor's to the unidentified "specially commissioned literal translation." It is exactly in the acknowledgement of their indebtedness to other translations that the difference between

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[484] Don Taylor, *Oedipus the King. The Theban Plays* (London: Methuen Drama, 1986 and 1991) 1-61.

[485] See sections 3.1. and 3.3. in Chapter III of this dissertation.

Spender and Taylor's attitude towards their primary sources rests. Whereas Spender is very specific and explicit regarding which translation he employed as his primary source, Taylor is deliberately elusive, and states that he had "worked from one specially-commissioned literal translation, and a consideration of the work of many of my distinguished predecessors" (Taylor 191). This vagueness in Taylor's statement may be interpreted either that he was unwilling to reveal the authorship of the literal translation(s) or he was restricted in the disclosing of the name of the scholar who made the literal translation.

Furthermore, the practice of this sort of intralingual intertextuality, viewed from a very skeptical perspective, can be argued against and even rejected for as theatrical practice. As presented in section 2 of Chapter I, one of the three arguments that Susan Bassnett uses to refute any notion of performability is that performability has been used by English translators, directors and impresarios to excuse the practice of handing over a supposedly literal translation to a monolingual playwright. Yet, this position can be very prescriptive and constraining because it tends to see only one side of the coin: that monoligual poets or playwrights like Spender and Taylor were commissioned to write an English version of a source play. However, it does not take into account the other side: that bilingual poets like Trypanis can also be commissioned to write an English version of a source language (SL) theatre text. Nonetheless, this theoretical and practical problem will also be discussed in Chapter VI of the present study.

If we try to make sense of these published forms of the versions of *Oedipus* which were produced and broadcast on radio ant TValmost simultaneously, we realize that they all formed a trilogy and were presented in such a way as to be easily accessible to different types of the British public. We also understand that these productions were realized by professional companies and were transmitted through different media. Spender's *King Oedipus* was performed in 1983, Trypanis's radio broadcast in 1957-58 and produced at the National Theatre most likely around 1984/85,[486] and Taylor's *Oedipus the King* was televised in 1986. This "bombardment" of the British public through radio, theatrical productions, television and actual printed texts of the scripts/translations signify a great demand for Greek tragedy and *Oedipus the King* within the British target system (TS). We can also claim that this revival of interest resembles that in North America in the late 1950s, when there was an almost simultaneous presentation of *Oedipus* through theatrical performances, radio broadcast and TV shows.[487] There is, however, a very noticeable difference in degree and intensity between the interest shown for *Oedipus* by the North American public in the late 1950s and the British in the 1980s; whereas the interest in North America in the late 1950s was directed primarily towards Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*, the British public of the 1980s looked upon *Oedipus* only as one constituent of a wider Sophoclean trilogy, and as one small, tiny part of a bigger puzzle which is called "Greek tragedy."

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[486] This is a speculation since substantial evidence of the year of this production is unavailable.

If we were to ask why there is a distinguishable differentiation in perception and reception of *Oedipus the King* between the British and North American TSs, one answer comes from the publication of another British version of *Oedipus*, Wertenbaker's *Oedipus Tyrannos*, and, indirectly, from the Programme which was distributed in its 1992 theatrical production. But it is time now to turn our attention to this British version of *Oedipus* and try to discuss the various dynamics between its written and performed text.

2.3. Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Oedipus Tyrannos* (1991-1992)

While so many translations of *Oedipus the King* were available to an English public in general and British public in particular, a new translation of *Oedipus* appeared simultaneously in England and the U.S.A.: Timberlake Wertenbaker's *Oedipus Tyrannos*.[488] It is immediately apparent that *Oedipus Tyrannos* is only one part of a larger translation project: *The Thebans*, which also includes *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Antigone*. Furthermore, under the title, there is the following sub-title: "Translated and adapted by Timberlake Wertenbaker from Sophocles' original text." What is noticeable both in the titles of this book and of the particular tragedy under discussion is that they are slightly different from the preceding British and American selections of the same tragedies. For example, the title of this collection of the plays is *The Thebans* instead of *The Theban Plays*,[489] *Three Theban Plays*,[490] *The Three Theban Plays*,[491] or *The Oedipus Trilogy*[492] that we have encountered before. Furthermore, while most of the British translators usually rendered *Oidipous Tyrannos* (Οἰδίπους Τύραννος) into *King Oedipus* and the American into *Oedipus the King*, Wertenbaker translated it into *Oedipus Tyrannos* keeping the traditional Latinized form of *Oedipus* but having left untranslated the word *Tyrannos*.

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[487] See sections 2.3., 2.3.1., and 3 of Chapter IV.

[488] Timberlake Wertenbaker, *Oedipus Tyrannos*. *The Thebans* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1992) 1-45; hereafter it will be quoted as Wertenbaker.

[489] E.F. Watling, *The Theban Plays* (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1947), and Don Taylor, *The Theban Plays* (London: Methuen Drama, 1986 and 1991).

[490] C.A. Trypanis, *Three Theban Plays* ((Warminster, Wiltshire: Aris & Philips, Teddington House, 1986).

[491] Robert Fagles, *The Three Theban Plays* (London: Penguin Books, 1984).

[492] Stephen Spender, *The Oedipus Trilogy* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1985).

We may now wonder why these changes in both the title of the collection and that of *Oedipus* occured, and whether they bear any significance at all. The answer comes only after we have scrutinized the subtitle and leafed through the first pages; this translation was meant to be also an adaptation for a theatrical performance. As noted earlier, the sub-title reads: "Translated and adapted by Timberlake Wertenbaker ..." Moreover, we read that these translations were first performed at the Swan Theatre at Stratford-upon-Avon, on 25 and 26 October 1991. Therefore, we encounter another translation of *Oedipus* which was first performed and then published. Yet, we lack any substantial information about these performances because there is neither an introduction nor a preface to this translation, nor any details about the actual performance(s).

Our understanding of how this translation must have been staged during the first performances comes indirectly and only from the Programme *Sophocles' Oedipus Plays: The Thebans* issued by RSC (the Royal Shakespeare Company) for the performances of the same plays at the Barbican Theatre, London, in 1992.[493] After a careful comparison between the 1992 programme and the introductory pages to the 1991 production in the published form of *The Thebans* in 1992, we notice that the cast, director, designer, lighting and music directors are all the same persons in both the 1991 and 1992 productions. Furthermore, there is another striking aspect about these productions. Although *The Thebans: Oedipus Tyrannos, Oedipus at Colonus and Antigone* were translated, performed and published as a trilogy, they were not performed in one single night due to the length of the performances. On the one hand, *Oedipus Tyrannos* was first performed at the Swan Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon on 25 October 1991 and then at the Barbican Theatre, London, on 27 August 1992. According to the Programme, the performance of *Oedipus Tyrannos* "is approximately 1 3/4 hours in length, without interval."[494] On the other hand, *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Antigone* were performed together the next night: that is, on 26 October 1991 and on 28 August 1992. According to the instructions given in the Programme, the performance of *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Antigone* "is approximately 3 3/4 hours long in total" and there was a 25-minute interval in between; during that intermission the audience was kindly requested to leave the auditorium. What gradually becomes understandable is that the printed text of *The Thebans* in general, and of *Oedipus Tyrannos* in particular, must have been the script of the actual performances of these tragedies at the Swan Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, in 1991 and at the Barbican Theatre, London, in 1992. Only if we think in terms of prevailing conventions about the publication of scripts, can we comprehend the absence of any introduction, footnotes or endnotes from the 1992 edition of Wertenbaker's *The Thebans*.

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[493] I am deeply thakful to Professor Carl Hare (Drama Department, University of Alberta), who brought the programme of the 1992 performances from London, and allowed me to use the relevant information in the present dissertation; without his generosity and support, the discussion in this section would have been impossible.

[494] The Programme, *Sophocles' Oedipus Plays: The Thebans*, n. pag.; hereafter it will be referred to as the Programme.

2.3.1. The relationship between the written and performed text of Wertenbaker's *Oedipus Tyrannos*

Let us now start with the written form of Wertenbaker's *Oedipus Tyrannos* and then discuss some aspects of its 1992 theatrical production in London. As noted earlier, the first and most recognizeable aspect of Wertenbaker's version of *Oedipus* is the almost non-exististence of any stage directions, except in a few and rare instances.[495] We should, however, emphasize that in this version there are clear indications when the actors enter or leave the stage. As for the rest, this version of *Oedipus* follows Sophocles' original text very closely.

The second and the most astonishing feature of Wertenbaker's version is that there are many passages of direct transliteration from the Greek text. For example, exclamations of grief, like φεῦ, φεῦ appear as Feu, Feu without further explanation. The same technique is also followed in *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Antigone*. What remains particular to *Oedipus Tyrannos*, however, is that sometimes short or long passages of the choral songs have been both translated and transliterated from Greek. The following excerpt offers the best example of the longest transliterated passage of *Oedipus Tyrannos* :

ἰὼ γενεαὶ βροτῶν
ὡς ὑμᾶς ἴσα καὶ τὸ μη-
δὲν ζώσας ἐναριθμῶ.
τίς γὰρ, τίς ἀνὴρ πλέον
τᾶς εὐδαιμονίας φέρει
ἢ τοσοῦτον ὅσον δοκεῖν
καὶ δόξαντ ' ἀποκλῖναι

(Pearson 1186-1192)

Generations of mortals,
I count your life as nothing
For what man wins more than
a shadow of good fortune,
shadow that fades, fades away,
[I hold up your
fate
as paradigma
reckless Oedipus
and I judge
no mortal happy.]

[eeoh, eeoh]
io genei broton
hos humas isa kai
to meden zosas
en arithmo [sic]
tis gar
tis aner pleon
tas
eudaimonias ferei
e tosouton hosan [sic]
dokein
kaidoxant'apoklinai

(Wertenbaker 37)

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[495] For some stage directions see Wertenbaker 3, 4, 11, 20, 28; this version is also divided into a Prologue, five Choruses and five Episodes.

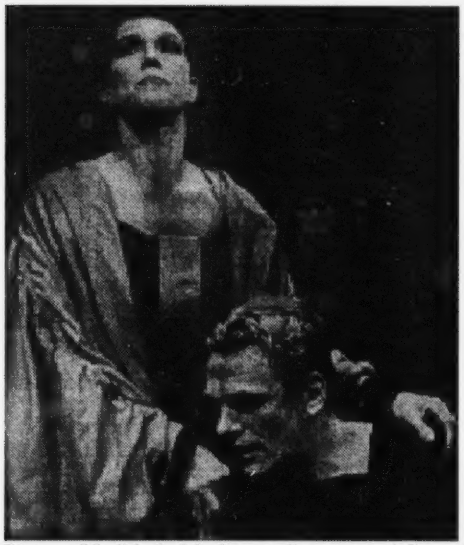
The left column is the Greek passage as it appears in Pearson's edition of 1928, the other two columns as they appear in the beginning of the FIFTH CHORUS in *Oedipus Tyrannos*. We have to mention, however, that in the central column we have enclosed a passage in brackets to indicate that it does not correspond to the Greek text on the left or to the transliterated text on the right. We also bracketed one word in the right column to denote the only instance of a repetition in the transliterated text.

The consistency, however, of transliterating short or long passages from Greek raises two sets of fundamental and interrelated questions: (1) Why have only some choral passages been transliterated from Greek to appear beside the translation? What is their function and importance? Why are there no short or long transliterations of the choral songs in *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Antigone*? and (2) Were these transliterated passages actualized in the 1991 and 1992 performances of *Oedipus Tyrannos*? If yes, how? Although there is no definite answer to these questions, we can conjecture that most of the transliterated passages were sung or spoken either only in Greek or both in Greek and English during the actual performances. But if it were so, then what was their function?

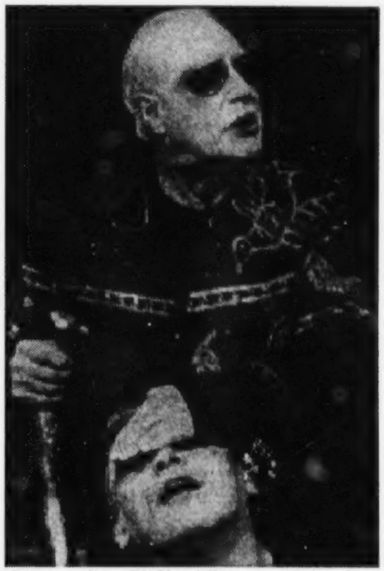
The presence of a transliterated text from Greek beside its English translation usually creates a double impression: (1) that of the proximity of the translation to the original Greek text; and/or (2) that of strangeness for a contemporary British and a wider English audience and public. This strangeness can function as a constant reminder that what is presented or read was not originally written in English but in Greek. Strangely enough, this strategy is only one of the ways to bridge the time span between two cultures too far apart in time and place. The other two means of bridging the chronological gap between fifth-century Athens and late twentieth-century England was achieved, first, by the distribution of a programme before the 1992 performances of these Sophoclean tragedies and, second, by the actual productions.

The first impression we have from the Programme is that the very preparation and publication of the Programme is a co-operative effort of various people, such as: the director (Andrian Noble), the translator (Timberlake Wertenbaker), a classical theatre scholar (Oliver Taplin), experts in screen and stage (Michael Kustow), and of the actors, of course. The second and lasting impression is that the Programme in itself is an excellent piece of work. Every effort has been made to ensure that before the performances had begun the audience would have read the background story of the Oedipus myth and the plot of *Oedipus Tyrannos*, *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Antigone*, which are presented in very concise summaries made by Oliver Taplin. In the same programme there is also a very good discussion about the assumptions governing the translation and the production of these plays,[496] and a brilliant exposition of the wider European cultural, theatrical and critical context out of which these productions of *The Thebans* came.[497] Moreover, there are also pictures of past productions attached and brief biographical sketches of the cast.

We can get an idea of the 1992 performances of *Oedipus Tyrannos* in London, if we have a close look at the pictures taken from the 1991 production of The Thebans at Stratford-upon-Avon:



Picture 23. Linda Marlow as Jocasta and Gerard Murphy as Oedipus.



Picture 24. Clifford Rose as Teiresias and Gerard Murphy as Oedipus.

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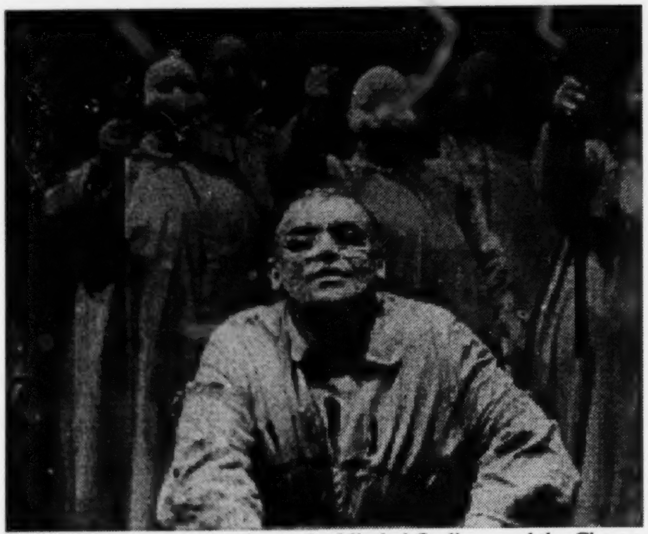
[496] See "Greek Drama on the Stage," in the Programme; it is an interesting 3-column discussion of the relationship between contemporary theatre translation and production of Greek tragedy. Because there is no name appearing as the author of this discussion, it is difficult to determine whether this passage expresses the translator's (Wertenbaker's) or the director's (Noble's) opinion, or of both.

[497] See Michael Kustow, "Chorus or Camera, Microphone or Mask" in the Programme; hereafter it will be cited as Kustow, The Programme.



Picture 25. Gerard Murphy as the blinded Oedipus and the Chorus in the 1991 production of *Oedipus at Colonus*.

It is evident from the *Pictures 23-25* that during the 1991 and 1992 productions of *Oedipus Tyrannos*, among the other tragedies of *The Thebans*, was "realistically" represented. No principal character wore a mask. Even the blindness of Teiresias was illustrated by manipulating and creating special effects with make-up. Teiresias' theatrical representation, however, foreshadows what to expect for Oedipus' self-infliction. Thus, when the blind Oedipus comes out of the palace as shown in *Picture 25* we are not surprised.

Yet, our surprise comes from the theatrical representation of the Chorus in *Picture 25*. In contrast with the main characters, all the members of the Chorus wear masks which cover most of their faces except their cheeks. Although *Picture 25* does not come from the production of *Oedipus Tyrannos* but rather from that of *Oedipus at Colonus*, it does alert us to details in the previous pictures. Only after we looked at *Picture 23* for a while, are we able to make out a couple of masked figures in the background of this picture, a task admittedly very difficult even in the original Programme due to the darkeness of the background. Therefore, we are assured that the Chorus in *Oedipus Tyrannos* was masked as well.

If we now return to *Picture 25* there is something uncannily familiar that we cannot specify at once. It takes us a while to realize that this particular picture can be a theatrical realization of what Fitts and Fitzgerald suggested for a possible theatrical production of *Antigone* in 1949:

> A careful production might make successful use of masks. They could be of the Benda Type used in the production of O'Neill's *The Great God Brown*, lifelike, closely fitting the contours of the face, and valuable only as they give the effect of immobility to character. On no

> account should there be any attempt to reproduce the Greek mask, which was larger than life size and served a function non existent on the modern stage--the amplification of voice and mood for projection to the distant seats of the outdoor theater.
>
> If masks are used at all, they might well be alloted only to these characters who are somewhat depersonalized by official position or discipline: Creon, Teiresias, the Chorus and Choragos, possibly the Messager. By this rule, Antigonê has no mask; neither has Ismenê, Haimon, nor Eurydicê. If Creon is masked, we see no objection, in art or feeling, to the symbolic removal of his mask before he returns with the dead body of his son. (Fitts and Fitzgerald 143)[498]

From the above-quoted statement, we see that Fitts and Fitzgerald were more inclined towards stage realism and advised caution with the use of masks. If the use of masks is unavoidable, they propose that the masks must not cover the whole face and be employed primarily by the Chorus and the Chorus Leader, the Choragos. It is exactly this mixture of stage realism and presentational theatre proposed by Fitts and Fitzgerald that we can observe in *Picture 25* and assume that it was used for both the 1991 and 1992 theatrical productions of Wertenbaker's *Oedipus Tyrannos*. Although conjectural, this mixture of stage realism and presentational theatre in these productions could also be reinforced by the mixture of English and some Greek which was delivered by the main characters and the Chorus.

We may now wonder why *Oedipus the King* has been translated and produced so often in England since the mid-1980s, and why the Royal Shakespeare Company commissioned Wertenbaker to write a new script/translation of *Oedipus*. We can find some answers to these questions only if we consider what Michael Kustow summarizes in his "Chorus or Camera, Microphone or Mask." According to Kustow, "*The Thebans* is the newest edition to an edifice of productions, translations and critical re-readings which over the past decade has set Greek drama at the heart of our theatrical and, in the most fundamental sense, our political concerns" (Kustow, The Programme). In this opening statement, Kustow draws our attention to some of the principal reasons for the popularity of Greek tragedy in general and *Oedipus the King* in particular with a British and a wider European public. He claims that political circumstances such as the massive political changes in Europe have created a tremendous shift in reading and interpreting Greek drama in Britain and Europe.

Furthermore, he holds that new theatre criticism and various social discourses coming from within and outside the U.K. made many creative writers, like Tony Harrison, re-interpret and re-write some Greek tragedies. In this way, Greek drama has stopped being only a prerequisite for the departments of classics and some programs in the liberal arts but has become accessible to a wider British public. New works of classical and theatrical scholarship and literary criticism challenged outmoded but tenacious versions of ancient Greece. But it was Oliver Taplin's *Greek Tragedy in Action* which had a cataclysmic effect upon the British productions of Greek drama.[499] According to Kustow, Taplin's book "freed Greek performance conventions from the assumptions of Western naturalism, and keyed in with our [British] theatre search for a new theatricality, something which the camera and the editing-table could not offer, an encounter with a live audience beyond the scope of the screen media. One outcome has been the redefinition of the theatre events beyond customary time-limits, and often in non-theatre spaces" (Kustow, The Programme). From that perspective, *Oedipus the King* was not in the centre of theatrical productions of Greek tragedies any more, as it was in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century England or in North America in the late-1950s,[500] but rather one part of a more general effort within the British TS to re-interpret dramatically and theatrically Greek theatre and tragedy.

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[498] These suggestions were discussed in detail in section 2.2. of Chapter IV.

In Kustow's opinion, the greatest influence upon the British perception and reception of Greek theatre came from Jean-Pierre Vernant and his colleagues in France who had drawn upon structural anthropology, psychoanalysis, linguistics and feminism and, eventually offered the most creative re-interpretation of Greek tragedy.[501] Kustow also claims that many British theatre companies, among which the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) encouraged and promoted not only plays written by, but also productions of, plays translated or directed by women. The last remark partly answers the question why Wertenbaker was commissioned to write a version for the RSC, when so many other translations were highly circulated and produced by other theatrical companies in England.[502] My own speculation is that Wertenbaker, a well-known British woman playwright and adapter/translator, was commissioned by the RSC to make these translations in an effort to welcome and promote British women playwrights, directors and translators. These comments are made to show how social discourses like feminism can have a direct or indirect impact upon the perception and reception of Greek tragedy by a wider British public.

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[499] Oliver Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: U of California P, 1978).

[500] As discussed in section 3. of Chapter III and sections 2.3. and 3 of Chapter IV respectively.

[501] In sections 2.1. and 2.3.1. of Chapter IV we have discussed how directly or indirectly psychoanalysis influenced the making of new translations (that by Patrick Mullahy) or theatrical productions (Guthrie's productions of *Oedipus Rex*). In sections 1.3.3.3.-1.3.3.3.3. of this chapter, we have also discussed the impact of structural anthropology upon American adapters/translators like Burgess and theatrical productions in the mid-1970s.

[502] For example, Fagles's *Oedipus the King*, as discussed in section 2.1.2. of this chapter.

Finally, one of the most surprising aspects in Kustow's discussion of the contemporary British productions of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus* is that he finds a universality which can still be communicated to, and re-interpreted by, a late twentieth-century English audience:

> We gaze at Oedipus' terrible sockets in a time when a newspaper from what was once Yugoslavia accuses its opponents of forcing their victims to swallow their eyeballs before they killed them. From Greek tragedies, we can learn steady seeing and indefatigable speech. They remind us how to look fully at the worst things imaginable, and not be trodden down by them ... Greek drama brings home ... as much of our nature as we are able to open to its unsettling discourse. (Kustow, The Programme)

Kustow's belief in the universality of *Oedipus the King* which enables this Sophoclean tragedy to transcend place and time, and thus be communicated to and re-interpreted by cultures different from these for which it was originally performed parallels to the conviction of most contemporary English producers of *Oedipus* that this play carries certain elements (i.e. human suffering, ritual) which can be realized theatrically, no matter how differently,[503] and still be comprehended and appreciated by a contemporary English audience. Kustow's notion of universality of *Oedipus the King* is also strikingly similar to Pavis's notion of a univerality of culture.[504] This convergence between the opinions of diverse theatre people and scholars, however, may help us have a better understanding of the present theoretical polarization between the notions of readability advocated by Susan Bassnett and performability as expressed in Patrice Pavis's writings.

As discussed earlier,[505] one of the points of major disagreements between Bassnett and Pavis is that, whereas the former refutes any notion of theatrical universality, for it is "a term without credibility" or "nothing more than a liberal humanist illusion,"[506] the latter believes in "a universalization of a notion of culture ... which suggests a return to the religious and to the mystical, and to ritual and ceremony in the theatre" (Pavis 42). It becomes evident from the juxtaposition of these theoretical positions that Bassnett, on the one hand, sees and stresses only the differences between cultures and theatres which vary through time. In other words, when analyzing certain translations of theatrical texts, Bassnett, as a translation theoretician, moves exclusively on a diachronic/paradigmatic axis (variability of a culture in time) without considering that there may be changes of a translation of a theatrical text during different performances taking place at different locations at the same time (changes on a synchronic/syntagmatic axis). On the other hand, Pavis, as a theatre semiotician, moves exclusively on a synchronic/syntagmatic axis, since he concentrates his attention on how the text of a translation of a theatrical text is changed during a particular performance at a particular place and time. Therefore, we can hold that the current polarization observed in approaching a translated theatrical text and its performance(s) by Bassnett and Pavis can be found in the disciplines each of these scholars first originated her and his theories: translation studies and semiotics of theatre and drama.

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[503] In sections 1.2., 2.2. and 2.3. of Chapter IV we have discussed the differences between the Saint-Denis, Schneider and Guthrie productions of *Oedipus Rex*.

[504] As discussed in section 2.3.1., Chapter I of this dissertation.

[505] See section 2 of Chapter I.

[506] See Bassnett, "Textual Complexities" 77 and "The Case Against Performability" 110 respectively.

In the following and final chapter of this study, we shall try to demonstrate how the long history of actual translations and performances of *Oedipus* in English defies any polarization between precepts like readability and performability or universality and particularity of cultures and shows them to be reductionist illusions. We shall also propose an integrated communication model for theatre translation that ventures to overcome the current theoretical polarization in theatre translation studies.

CHAPTER VI
A WORKING HYPOTHESIS FOR CROSS-CULTURAL THEATRICAL COMMUNICATION

Introduction

We began our present study with a presentation of the theoretical frameworks of theatre semiotics and theatre translation, and endeavoured to demonstrate that any effort of both theoreticians of theatre translation (Susan Bassnett) and theatre semioticians (Patrice Pavis) to apply theories of theatre semiotics to translation of theatrical texts has resulted in a polarization between readability and performability. Then, in order to test how and to what degree postulates like readability and performability are applicable to the historical functioning of actual translations and theatrical performances of a play, we have chosen Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*, for it is one of the most discussed, translated and performed Greek tragedies in the Western tradition in general and in the English-speaking world in particular. We started our investigation with an inquiry of how *Oedipus the King* was communicated within its own source culture (SC) and, then, we attempted to understand how this tragedy was communicated to an ever-changing English-speaking world (target culture/TC). With some surprise we found that, although there are many studies on the dramatic and theatrical conventions of classical Greek theatre and English theatre separately, there is none to bring up these different traditions together and discuss their change over the course of time. More disturbing, however, is the fact that classical, literary and theatrical scholars seem to ignore or dismiss the fact that Greek tragedy and any theatrical play is perceived and received by various target systems (TSs) primarily through translations, theatrical performances and/or appropriations. Furthermore, we realized that, although Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* has been one of the most translated and performed Greek tragedies in English, there is no study on how this tragedy has been constructed by British and American translators, adapters, producers and performers. Thus, in Chapters III, IV and V, we undertook to organize a large corpus of data in a way that would describe not only the various actual translations and performances of this particular Sophoclean play, but also, when possible, the interrelationship between the translation (written text) and its theatrical performance(s) (performance texts). We hope that our systematic and comprehensive efforts to link issues of translations and performances in the reception of *Oedipus the King* by the English-speaking world will enable us to consider reasons why concepts like readability and performability, when applied to the historical functioning of actual translations and performances of a play like *Oedipus the King*, seem to be very limited.

It is our intention, therefore, after we have summed up some of our basic considerations based on the actual translations and performances of *Oedipus*, to follow three steps. First, we shall discuss how centuries of actual translations and performances of one theatrical text (*Oedipus*) can defy any current scholarly debate between readability and performability. Second, we shall argue that, although the concepts of readability and performability are valid as such, Bassnett's and Pavis's discussions of theatre translation suffer from two drawbacks, that is, they are both prescriptive and exclusively text-oriented or performance-oriented analyses. Third, from our observations, we shall propose a communication model for theatre translation. Yet, based on our study of the reception of a play like *Oedipus*, it would be better for this model to be perceived more as a working hypothesis rather than as a definite and closed framework. We hope that this model, if altered slightly, will be able to accommodate translations and performances of more recent or even contemporary theatrical texts.

HYPOTHETICAL CONCLUSIONS ON CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN GENERAL AND THEATRICAL COMMUNICATION IN PARTICULAR

1. The realization of intralingual and intracultural theatrical communication

As discussed in Chapter II, most of the extant Greek tragedies were first presented and performed during the City or Great Dionysia in Athens as an integral part of the five-day civil and religious festivities. Every year three dramatists were chosen to present their tragedies (trilogy) and a satyr play to their fellow Athenian citizens, and to compete for the first prize. The expenses for these performances were shared by the Athenian state and a wealthy citizen, the *choregos* (*χορηγός*). It was in the institutionalized and homogeneous context of the Great Dionysia that Sophocles presented *Oedipus the King* to his contemporary Athenian audience in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens, as illustrated in *Figure 1*, Chapter I, around 429 B.C.E., and won second prize.

Sophocles was the primary source of unity of the performance of *Oedipus the King*, since he had to conceptualize the play that he wanted to present, direct the actors, train the chorus, compose the music, choreograph the dances and supervise every aspect of the production of *Oedipus the King*. In other words, when Sophocles was conceptualizing the tetralogy of which *Oedipus* was only one play, he probably knew in advance which actors were going to play which roles, he had a very specific theatre in mind (the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens) and a very particular audience in mind (the fifth-century Athenian public). Yet, in order to communicate successfully his own sense of reality and win the prize, Sophocles had to use very skillfully the theatrical and dramatic means available to him. How, for example, could he succeed in communicating to his audience the interplay between blindness and sight,[507] silence and dialogue and Oedipus' search for his origins when he was restricted to three male actors for all the speaking parts of the play? How could Sophocles communicate his thoughts when he had to produce a tragedy moving between very intense speech situations, choral songs and movements?

In fact, these questions can be asked only by late twentieth-century readers who are not familiar with the fifth-century Athenian theatrical and dramatic practices. In section 1 of Chapter II, we analyzed in some detail the theatrical and dramatic conventions prevailing when Sophocles was presenting his tragedies to the Athenian audience. One of the most essential theatrical practices was the "three-actor rule" or "Dreigespräch": the use of only three actors to play all the speaking roles.[508] As we have seen and shall also discuss later, although other aspects of the Greek theatre production, such as a large chorus or masked actors, have been explored and experimented with in some of the most innovative theatrical performances of *Oedipus the King* in English, the "three-actor rule" has almost never been realized theatrically. To understand how untranslatable or culture-bound this "rule" is, we shall first try to apply it to *Oedipus* and then examine why it has almost never been practised in any English production of this Sophoclean tragedy.

If we now try to break down *Oedipus* according to the "three-actor rule" we get the following illustration:

Lines	**Actor 1**	**Actor 2**	**Actor 3**
1-86	Oedipus	Priest	---
87-146	Oedipus	Priest (silent)	Creon
147-150	Oedipus	Priest's address to the children	Creon (silent)
151-215	Parodos of the Chorus		
216-299	Oedipus	the Chorus	---
300-462	Oedipus	Teiresias	---
463-512	1st Stasimon of the Chorus		
513-531	---	the Chorus	Creon
532-615	Oedipus	---	Creon

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[507] As discussed in section 2.2. of Chapter II.

[508] See also section 1.2.3.1., Chapter II of this dissertation.

616-617	Intervention of the Chorus		
618-630	Oedipus	---	Creon
631-633	Intervention of the Chorus		
634-648	Oedipus	Jocasta	Creon
649-672	Oedipus	the Chorus (Commos)	
673-677	Oedipus	---	Creon
678-686	Suggestions made by the Chorus to Jocasta		
687-695	Oedipus	the Chorus	---
696-862	Oedipus	Jocasta	---
863-910	2nd Stasimon of the Chorus		
911-949	---	Jocasta	Mess(enger) from Corinth
950-986	Oedipus	Jocasta	Mess. from Corinth
987-1055	Oedipus	Jocasta (silent)	Mess. from Corinth
1056-1072	Oedipus	Jocasta	Mess. from Corinth (silent)
1073-1085	Oedipus	the Chorus	Mess. from Corinth (silent)
1086-1109	3rd Stasimon of the Chorus		
1110-1120	Oedipus	the Chorus	Mess. from Corinth (silent)
1121-1185	Oedipus	Old Shepherd	Mess. from Corinth
	(REVELATION OF THE TRUTH)		
1186-1222	4th Stasimon of the Chorus		
1223-1296	---	the Chorus	Mess. from the Palace
1297-1418	Oedipus	the Chorus	---
1419-1523	Oedipus	---	Creon
	Antigone	and	Ismene (mute actors)
1524-1530	Exodos of the Chorus		

Figure 4. A break-down of the speaking parts of *Oedipus*.

From the break-down of the distribution of the characters and roles in *Oedipus the King*, it is clear that Sophocles must have assigned the role of Oedipus only to one actor who was of course the protagonist. This is only proper, for no other character in the play shares Oedipus' exceptional plight and his intellectual relentlessness in searching for answers to questions and problems, characteristics which at the end isolate him from all of humanity. Yet the distribution of the other roles to the other two actors can be perceived as a combination of assailants and victims that, on a very superficial level, seem to have no apparent connection. Furthermore, no thematic or structural connection between the actors and the various roles that they must have performed can be found. For example, why should the second actor have performed the roles of the priest, Teiresias, Jocasta and the old shepherd while the third actor had to act the roles of Creon, the messenger from Corinth and the messenger from the palace?

To understand, on the one hand, the seeming incongruity in the second actor's assignment of playing the roles of the Priest, Teiresias, Jocasta and the old shepherd and, on the other hand, the existing congruity in the third actor's playing Creon and the two messengers, we shall search for the function of the characters in *Oedipus the King*. Once this contextualization is achieved, we shall start to notice a very clear purpose behind the arrangement of roles.

To see whether there is any rationale behind the apparently unrelated roles the second actor (deuteragonist) was asked to perform, we shall explore whether there is something behind the pairs of characters. Let us consider the first pair: the Priest and Jocasta. Their relation becomes evident if we think that the Priest and Jocasta both appeal to Oedipus (for different reasons, of course), and keep silent at crucial moments of the play. Whereas the Priest keeps discreetly quiet when Creon announces the god's bidding, Jocasta keeps dead silent when the messenger from Corinth reveals where he found the infant Oedipus years before. The relation of the second pair, that of the Priest and Teiresias is evident, since both are spokesmen of the gods. Perhaps the most problematic pairing is that of Teiresias and Jocasta; it can be better understood if it is first associated with the old shepherd. What is common in the characters of Teiresias, Jocasta and the old shepherd is, first, that all either know from the very beginning (Teiresias and the herdsman) the truth of Oedipus' past or become acutely conscious of it (Jocasta, 1071-1072). Second, they are all reluctant to reveal the truth. On the one hand, although Jocasta warns Oedipus that the revelation of his past will bring him doom, she prefers to keep silent by rushing offstage and killing hershelf. On the other hand, although both Teiresias and the old herdsman are reluctant to disclose the truth on their first encounter with Oedipus, they are both forced to reveal it when the former is bitterly assaulted verbally by Oedipus and the latter is tortured by Oedipus' guards. Yet, the most tantalizing possibility in the Teiresias-Jocasta pairing comes from the ambiguous and unnatural identity of these characters. Teiresias, on the one hand, has tasted life between two different worlds: he is a man yet has been a woman. Jocasta, on the other hand, is proven to be Oedipus' wife and at the same time his mother.

As far as the roles which the third actor (tritagonist) had to perform, their congruity becomes conspicuous from the beginning of the play. The relationship between Creon and the messenger from Corinth rests in the fact that they both think that they bring good news to Oedipus. On the one hand, Creon relates Apollo's decree which, if the Thebans perform it, will rid them of the plague; on the other hand, the messenger from Corinth announces the death of Polybus, the King of Corinth, who is Oedipus' adoptive father, and the imminent elevation of Oedipus to the throne of Corinth. In both cases, however, the seemingly good news turns out to be a disaster for Oedipus when the truth is finally revealed. An intensification of the plight that befell Oedipus is also produced when the messenger from the palace (whose role was also played by the third actor) announces Jocasta's suicide and Oedipus' self-mutilation.

To comprehend why this "three-actor rule" was never practised in any English performances of *Oedipus the King*, we shall argue that this theatrical untranslatability depends upon three very important factors for the production of ancient Greek tragedy: the power of tradition within the Athenian religious community, the principal actors and the expectations of the audience; these factors must have inhibited the growth in the number of actors. Although it was moving in that direction, fifth-century Greek tragedy was not yet a secular drama. Thus one factor that surely has impeded the emergence of more than three actors must have been a conservative wish on the part of some to maintain Greek drama a ritual. Even if conservative viewers and priests had little to say about the actual production of tragedies, as representatives of tradition, they would in general prefer to keep a tight rein on tragedy, a rapidly developing art form. The second factor inhibiting growth in the number of actors must have been the protagonist's need to remain the focus of the drama. As discussed in Chapter II, all speaking roles were originally the property of one central character. Then two actors shared those roles and competed for the audience's attention and favour, and later there were three. Protagonists could not have favoured further diffusion of the audience's attention, especially in the late Classical period, when they were contesting with the deutoragonists and tritagonists for a prestigious award; this contest was established around 449 B.C.E.

Finally, audiences must be acclimatized to change. They must enter the theatre knowing in some way what to expect and, if things did not go according to their expectations, they ought to have been to be carefully prepared for the change. To that extent audiences are also conservative and the Athenian audience undoubtedly was no exception. A change in the number of actors would have required a significant reordering of the expectations of the Greek audience. Therefore, as soon as the custom of the three-actor convention had been established, it would have been difficult for the dramatists in the classical and post-classical period to make four or more actors a desirable feature for the audience. In this way, the fifth-century Athenian audience must also have contributed to the maintenance of the rule that only three actors may speak in tragedy. Later in this chapter, we shall attempt to show how the change in the British and North American societies, the unceasing development of the theatrical conventions and of the expectations of the various

English publics made unwelcome the "transplantation" of the "three-actor rule" to the theatrical performances of *Oedipus the King* or of any other Greek tragedy.

Before we advance our discussion, we should consider how Sophocles' *Oedipus* and any other Greek tragedy were transmitted through the ages. As far as we know, there has never been a manuscript of *Oedipus* by Sophocles.[509] It is also well-known and accepted that the variants of the extant Greek text of *Oedipus* have reached us through several steps. First, they were preserved and transmitted orally by the different post-classical and Hellenistic theatrical companies, which performed this drama frequently. Second, the play was transcribed and studied systematically for the first time by Alexandrian scholars. Since then, Byzantine, Renaissance and nineteenth-century classical scholars have worked on various manuscripts and tried to determine which is the most reliable.

In the transmission of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* and any other Greek tragedy, we can see the vital role both performers and scribes played and how an orall society like fifth-century Athens was gradually transformed into various writing-oriented societies like Hellenistic Alexandria, Constantinople and the important Renaissance cities.

2. The realization of interlingual, intercultural and cross-cultural (theatrical) communication

How does an interlingual, intercultural and cross-cultural communication start, and what generates the acceptability of one text and the rejection of another within a particular target system/society (TS) and culture (TC) at a particular time?

Interlingual and intercultural communication requires that for any kind of very basic communication between two different linguistic systems and cultures to exist there must be a sort of mediator, somebody (an agent) who can move back and forth between these two cultures. It is only since the late 1970s, with the emergence of translation studies as a distinct discipline, that we have become intensely aware of the importance of translators and interpreters. It is, however, disheartening (although there is a great abundance of books and articles on translation studies in general and literary translation in particular in English) that there are only a few articles and books on theatre translation and almost none on the relationship between the translation/adaptation of a theatrical text and its actual theatrical performance(s).[510] It is thus the goal of this part of our study to shed light upon some of the most complex issues involved in the theatre translation and its theatrical performance(s).

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[509] In this context we mean that there is no autograph extant of any of Sophocles' plays. Neverthrless, the lack of amanuscript of *Oedipus* does not prove that Sophocles did not do any writing at all; it is thought that some writing at least was involved for the choruses.

[510] I am only aware of the unpublished thesis "Translating (for) the Theatre: The Appropriation, Mise en Scene and Reception of Theatre Texts" by Loren Adrienne Kruger (Diss. Cornell University 1986).

To accomplish this task we shall follow two steps. First, we shall confine ourselves to the perception and reception of *Oedipus the King* by the English-speaking world as discussed and presented in Chapters III, IV and V of this dissertation. Second, from our discussion in Chapters III, IV and V, we shall try to draw some general conclusions about how a playtext like *Oedipus the King* was communicated through the centuries in English. We hope that from these observations we shall be able to present a working hypothesis for theatre translation which, when applied, can be accommodating not only to theatre translation studies but also to translation studies in general.

Let us now start with the question how an interlingual, intercultural and cross-cultural literary communication starts. While attempting to find some answers to this inquiry, we encountered a complexity we did not expect. It became apparent that it was necessary to do our inquiry in a slightly different way by trying to comprehend processes which can start long before the actual written text/script or theatrical performance is realized in the TS.

2.1. The First Contact between a Playwirght and his Translator(s) or Adapter(s)

2.1.1. Variants and invariants during this contact

How does the first contact between a playwright and his translator or adapter occur? There are at least three possible ways for this contact to be realized. First, when the playwright is dead, the first contact between this playwright and his translator can occur only through various kinds of scholarship and translations. Nevertheless, the intensity and the degree of difficulty in the realization of this kind of contact usually varies and rests in the chronological and cultural distance between the dead author and his translator. Second, when the writer is alive and contemporary with his translator, there is a possibility of an interaction between them. Third, and the rarest case of all, when the playwright and the translator are one and same person.

Sophocles and his *Oedipus the King* fit in the first category. In this situation we should take into consideration two other parameters which are of vital importance for our study and which function as invariants: (1) the presence of intralingual interference; and (2) the chronological gap or time span.

2.1.1.1. Intralingual interference

By intralingual interference within an oral or written communication, we understand whatever can interfere during the process of communication; for example, an abrupt noise, lack of or loss of a manuscript, interruption of a message, or even the expectation of another message are sources of strong interference carrying the possibility of breaking the communication itself. In the case of the transmission of Sophocles' original text of *Oedipus the King*, there has been a strong intralingual interference which also touches upon the issue of performability and readability of this tragedy. As we have emphasized in section 1 of this Chapter, the extant variants of the Greek text of *Oedipus* have reached us mainly though the Hellenistic performers and the scrupulous work of various scholars through the ages. Thus we can hold that any would-be-translator or adapter of classical Greek tragedy and *Oedipus the King*, who knows classical Greek, comes into contact with Sophocles and his work mostly through Hellenistic reconstructions of his original performed text, classical and theatrical discussions of how an actual (Greek) production of this tragedy would be realized and, quite possibly, also through contemporary theatrical, radio or filmed performances.

2.1.1.2. The chronological gap or time span

Nevertheless, the intralingual interference observed in the contact between Sophocles and his translators is tied to the tremendous chronological gap existing between him and them. Thus time itself seems to have become a *locus* of very particular and drastic changes in theatrical and dramatic conventions, a place of accumulation of translations and theatrical performances of this Sophoclean play, a *configuration* of various social discourses that either instigate or inhibit the emergence of new translations (written/published texts) and theatrical performances (performed, filmed or radio broadcast texts).

2.1.2. The First Contact between a source system (SS) dramatist (Sophocles) and his source text (ST; *Oedipus the King*) and his English translators or adapters

In the very first steps of communication between a source language (SL) writer/playwright and his translator(s) four alternatives can be found in the translation practice in general and theatre translation in particular.

1. When a translator comes from the target system/society (TS) and inherits all the advantages and disadvantages of this factor.[511] S/he can be well aware of all cultural

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[511] In this context, whenever we refer to "a translator," we also imply the possible cooperation of two or more translators (i.e. Fitts and Fitzgerald, Berkowitz and Brunner, and Berg and Clay).

elements of the TS and its market demands, but s/he may not be able to be associated with some important historical and cultural events of the SS. A possible time span and the presence of different discourses within a TC can put an extra pressure on the target language (TL) translator. In this category fall almost all English translators of Sophocles' *Oedipus*.

2. When a translator comes from the source society (SS), he is a SL native speaker and inherits all the advantages and disadvantages of this factor. S/he can grasp almost all nuances in form and content of the source text (ST) and take into consideration all the cultural elements of the SL. Yet, s/he may not be fully aware of the cultural elements of the target language (TL) and its market demands, unless s/he has lived in the TC for years. Surprisingly enough, this category is almost a taboo in translation studies and--with only a few exeptions[512]--translation theoreticians and scholars tend either to ignore or dismiss it. In our study we encountered only one translator who can be included in this category: C.A. Trypanis who is Greek and a well-established classical and Byzantine scholar. Trypanis made a very successful translation of *King Oedipus*, which was radio-broadcast and produced in England and the U.S.A.[513] In the present context, however, we should emphasize that, due to the variability factor, the Greek society (SS) in which Trypanis was brought up does not coincide with that of Sophocles. Hence he is not a "native" speaker of classical Greek, but he is a Greek who was trained in all the historical varieties of the Greek language.[514]
3. When two or more translators, coming from both the SS and the TS, co-operate to make a translation. We have not encountered this alternative in our study of the translators of *Oedipus*. In translation studies, this category is usually found in prose and verse translations.
4. When the playwright and the translator is one and the same person. This category is very rare, and we have not encountered it in the present study. The most famous example of this category is Samuel Beckett who not only wrote his plays in French and English but also translated some into English or French accordingly.

2.2. The translator(s) and/or adapter(s) in communication: From the first contact with the SS playwright and his ST through the

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[512] Maria Virjee, "Translation as Day-to-Day Activity," *Translation and Interpretation: The Multi-Cultural Context. A Symposium*, ed. Michael S. Batts (Vancouver: CAUTG, Benwell-Atkins, 1975) 68.

[513] See section 2.2.2.2., Chapter V.

[514] That is, ancient (Homeric) Greek, classical Greek, Koine, Byzantine Greek, high-elevated Modern Greek (*katharevousa*) and common Modern Greek (*demotike*).

process of writing the translation or script to its final distribution to the Public of a particular TS

As soon as the first contact between the text and the translator(s) takes place, a process of interlingual, intercultural and cross-cultural communication is activated. During this sort of communication the translator works his/her way back to the SS and ST and journeys out again to the target language (TL) and TS in order to reproduce the sound the sense and the feel of the original text (ST) in a language other than that in which it was originally written. This is perhaps the most traditional idea that the average person has about the translation process. Nevertheless, if we consider that in our study we have not dealt with just any kind of literary text but primarily with a theatrical text, which was first performed and then transcribed, we start to discern that this communication process must be more complex than it first appears. The complexity of this process is further reinforced by the fact that we are not dealing with any contemporary theatrical text but rather with the Greek tragedy *Oedipus the King* which was performed in Athens in the second half of the fifth century B.C.E.

In order to comprehend what is involved in the highly complex translation process of an ancient dramatic text as well as in the making of the product (translation) and its final distribution in a TS, we shall try to conceptualize the seemingly simple tripartite relation of the translator(s), the translation and the various ever-changing public(s) with the help of the observations that we can draw from the descriptive study of the translations and performances of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* as carried in Chapters III, IV and V of this dissertation.

2.2.1. The 1st step of an interlingual and intercultural Communication: TRANSLATORS-INTENTIONS-TRANSLATIONS

In our approach to the translation process of a classical Greek tragedy like *Oedipus the King*, we shall consider the following variables: (1) the translator's relative knowledge, or lack of it, of the classical Greek language and culture; (2) his/her literary or scholarly predisposition; and (3) the time and location s/he made his/her version.

2.2.1.1. Appropriators of *Oedipus the King*: Dryden and Burgess

Among the great amount of English translators and translations of *Oedipus*, there are only two English versions of this play which cannot be considered adaptations for stage production but rather appropriations of the story and myth of Oedipus: Dryden's and Lee's *Oedipus* and Burgess's *Oedipus the King*.

2.2.1.1.1. Dryden and his *Oedipus*

Although Dryden's version of *Oedipus* was discussed in detail in section 2.2. of Chapter III, in the present context it is important to summarize and emphasize the following:

1. Dryden, a poet, playwright and literary critic himself, rewrote the story of Oedipus following the theatrical and dramatic demands of his period. Changes in the theatre structure (a proscenium stage theatre), the theatrical acting (no use of masks, use of female actors, contemporary costuming), the structure and expectations of his contemporary audience (a middle-class coterie, subplots, political intrigues) made Dryden fashion his *Oedipus* according to these changes.
2. To make his version of *Oedipus*, Dryden drew upon Shakespearean dramaturgy and the politics of seventeenth century England. The presence of dramatic elements and political values in this appropriation become very conspicuous not only in Dryden's overt references to Restoration politics in the Preface and Prologue to his *Oedipus* but also in his fashioning of most of his characters, and especially that of Creon, according to some Shakespearean characters and some of the political figures of Restoration England.
3. The writing of *Oedipus* became a pretext for Dryden to prove to his rival literary critic Rymer that Restoration dramatists were as good as the classical Greek (i.e. Sophocles) and French Neoclassical playwrights (i.e. Corneille).
4. Dryden's version of *Oedipus* dominated the English stage and market for almost eighty years, and it can be held responsible for the hostile reception of Sophocles' *Oedipus* by the average English public for almost a century.

2.2.1.1.2. Burgess and his *Oedipus the King*

Although Burgess's appropriation of *Oedipus the King* is discussed in sections 1.3.3.3.-1.3.3.3.3. of Chapter V, we should keep in mind the following:

1. While writing his version of *Oedipus the King*, Burgess had a particular theatre, producer and a specific audience in mind.

2. Burgess is a creative writer/novelist who drew upon his Elizabethan and Jacobean heritage to write his appropriation of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* (Burgess 3 and 4).
3. By writing this version, Burgess wanted to experiment primarily with the content of the Oedipus myth. The starting-point of his re-writing of *Oedipus* was Lévi-Strauss's anthropological theories regarding the character, story and myth of Oedipus, as discussed in sections 1.3.3.3.2. and 1.3.3.3.3. of Chapter V.
4. Burgess's *Oedipus the King* remains the only appropriation of Sophocles' *Oedipus* in English since the writing of Dryden's *Oedipus*. Nevertheless, there is no evidence that this new appropriation of *Oedipus* has had any major impact upon the English theatrical audience or readership.

Although separated by almost three centuries, these adapters and their versions of *Oedipus* have apparently striking similarities: (1) both Dryden and Burgess had a relatively adequate knowledge of Greek; (2) they wrote their versions to be performed; and, (3), the translators/adapters and producers are different persons. The last two similarities reminds us that, besides translators/adapters and translations/adaptations, producers and theatrical productions are among the major forces which have influenced the perception and reception of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus the King* by a wider English public. We shall address this issue later in this section when we analyze in detail how the translations are distibuted to a TS.

2.2.1.2. Translators of *Oedipus the King* since the late nineteenth century

From Chapters III, IV and V we can draw some conclusions about the way different translators tried to communicate their translations and, eventually, have them distributed to a wide English TS.

2.2.1.2.1. Different translators, different intentions, different translations

From the presentation of more than 30 translators and the description of more than 100 editions of their translations, we can observe the following categories of translators of *Oedipus the King*:

1. Some of them, like Jebb and Sheppard, were classical scholars and their primary intention in translating *Oedipus* was to be faithful to the original and communicate it to a bilingual readership. Their translations were made in Victorian English prose and appeared in the British market in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

2. Some of the translators, like Campbell, Murray, Storr, Fitts and Fitzgerald, Watling, Trypanis, Fagles, have been both classical scholars and poets. The primary goal of all these translators was to make *Oedipus* accessible to a general, non-Greek readership. Whereas the translations by Campbell, Murray and Storr were in Victorian English verse and appeared in the English TS in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the versions of *Oedipus* made by Fitts and Fitzgerald, Trypanis, Watling and Fagles were rendered into contemporary English prose and verse and were introduced to the English market since the late 1940s and onwards.
3. A good number of other translators, like Arnott and MacLeish, have been theatre scholars with an adequate or good knowledge of Greek. Their translations were addressed to a general audience who were either theatre-oriented readers or theatregoers, or both. These translations were made in English prose and verse and entered the English TS from the early 1950s onwards.
4. Two translators of which one was a classical scholar and the other a poet with no Greek co-operated to make a new version of *Oedipus* in English prose and verse; a good example of this situation is Berg's and Clay's *Oedipus the King*, as discussed in section 1.3.2. of Chapter V.
5. A small number of translators/adapters, like Yeats, Spender, Taylor and Wertenbaker, who were poets and/or playwrights with an adequate or no knowledge of Greek, made their versions in English prose and verse primarily for a general theatrical audience. As a result, these versions were first performed and then published. The importance of most of these versions rests in their intralingual intertextuality, that is, the use of a literal translation as an intermediary for the production of a new version. The best examples of interlingual intertextuality are Yeats's, Spender's and Taylor's versions, which are re-workings of either Jebb's translation or of another unidentified literary translation. We have also observed that creative writers using literal translations as their primary source to make their own versions for stage performance of tragedies are to be found more frequently in the U.K. than in North America. Furthermore, we have discovered that this tendency has become more frequent in the U.K. since the mid-1980s.

2.2.2. The 2nd step of an interlingual and intercultural communication: TRANSLATIONS AND THEIR DISTRIBUTIONS TO A TS OR TSs

We have just established that the first step of any interlingual, intercultural and cross-cultural communication is to be found in the mediator of two languages and cultures (the translator) and his/her translation, his/her primary means of communication. Nevertheless, the process of communication becomes a more complex issue than we anticipated when we try to understand how a translated theatrical text in general, and many different translations of *Oedipus the King* in particular, were communicated to a wider English public; in other words, how they have been distributed to a wider TS. From our study it is clear that the various translations of *Oedipus* have been disseminated to an English TS through at least four different but overlapping semiotic systems: publications and reprints, theatrical performances, radio, and television. Because the publications and theatrical performances of various translations of *Oedipus* have been more frequent and better documented than those of the filmed or radio performances, we shall focus our attention on them. Furthermore, we shall explore the possibility of eliciting some conclusions about the relationship between the published text and the performed text of a translation of a source theatrical text. We shall also venture to show that there are some variables and invariables determining the frequent and consistent publications and/or theatrical performances of some of the translations of *Oedipus*.

2.2.2.1. Translations of a source theatrical text (*Oedipus*): The relationship between their publications and their theatrical performances

From Chapters III, IV and V of our study, we can discern four major patterns in the publications and theatrical productions of translations of *Oedipus the King* in the same TS:

1. A translation can first be published and then performed; i.e. versions of *Oedipus* by Jebb, Murray, Fitts and Fitzgerald, Fagles.
2. A script translation can first be performed and then published; i.e. renderings of *Oedipus* by Yeats, Trypanis, Cook, Spender, Wertenbaker.
3. A translation can be published but never performed; i.e. the English text of *Oedipus* by Sheppard, Storr, and Vellacott.
4. A translation which has been published and there is a firm belief that it has been performed without any written evidence to support it; i.e. Grene's *Oedipus the King*.

From the preceding patterns, Nos. 3 and 4 point to the fact that any research such as the present dissertation is subject to problems that cannot always be investigated. It also indicates that the researcher who carries out this kind of research needs all the support and information with which actual translators of *Oedipus* and other scholars or researchers can provide.

2.2.2.1.1. Pattern 1

As we have seen, *Pattern 1* is the category in which a translation is first published and then produced. This pattern is of importance for our study and theatre translation in general because it can shed light upon certain variables and invariables in the process of communication of a translation to a TS. First, it shows that the translator and the producer are never the same person and, consequently, the performed text (the script) is never identical with the printed text of the translation. It is usually adapted according to the needs and time limits of a very particular theatrical performance. This situation can be better understood when we consider that the director and actors have their own ideas about the performance of a text which are partly determined by the continuous development of the theatrical conventions (i.e. realism), acting style (i.e. Stanislavsky's psychological realism), and partly by the interference of various social discourses (i.e. philology, philosophy, psychoanalysis, anthropology). Famous examples of this situation are Murray's *Oedipus, King of Thebes* and Reinhardt's production of *Oedipus Rex* in an adapted version of Murray's translation in London in 1912. In section 3.2.1. of Chapter III, we discussed in detail how Reinhardt's personal views of a production of a Greek tragedy formed by archaeological, theatrical and philosophical theories materialized in the London performances of *Oedipus Rex*. Another example showing how a written text of a translation can be transformed into actual theatrical and filmed performances is Fitts's and Fitzgerald's *Oedipus Rex*, and Schneider's theatrical production of *Oedipus the King* (Washington, D.C., 1950), and the filmed production of *Oedipus Rex* (New York, 1957) as discussed in sections 2.1. and 3.2. of Chapter IV.

Furthermore, *Pattern 1* discloses a much more complex aspect of the interrelationship between written text and the performance text. Once published, a translation can be reprinted and/or edited in various anthologies, a fact that results in a better distribution of a translation to a wider TS. The availability of a translation of a theatrical text in a TS has further implications for the fortunes of the translation itself. Once a translation is published, it is accessible not only to a wide readership but also to a wider theatrical audience. This means that, because of its availability, a translation (written text) can be chosen by producers in North America and the U.K. to be used in their productions of *Oedipus the King*. Consequently, although some of the translations of a theatre text like *Oedipus* were initially made for an average English readership, once published, they can be continually and consistently performed, televised and radio-broadcast thus being communicated to a much wider English audience. The best example of this situation is Fagles's *Oedipus the King* and its frequent productions in both North America and the U.K., as discussed in section 2.1.2. of Chapter V.

2.2.2.1.2. Pattern 2

If we now turn to *Pattern 2*, we face a script which was first produced and then published. This pattern shows another aspect of the complex process of communication of a translated theatrical text to a TS. But before we develop our discussion, we should make a very important distinction between, what we have called in this study, "imitations," "radical re-interpretations" or "appropriations" of Sophocles' *Oedipus* and "adaptations for stage performance." As we have already argued, Dryden's *Oedipus* (1678-1679) and Burgess's *Oedipus the King* (1972) are the only two versions of *Oedipus* in English which are better defined as "appropriations" than "adaptations" of this play. The fundamental difference between Dryden and Burgess's versions and any other "version for stage performance"[515] or "adaptations of translations for stage production"[516] is that, whereas the former deviate greatly from the main plot of its Sophoclean counterpart, providing a radically different interpretation of the story, myth and character of Oedipus, the latter follow closely the story-line of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*, no matter how different the interpretations of some of the theatrical and/or dramatic aspects of this tragedy may be.

Now, besides the necessary distinction between appropriations and versions for stage production, *Pattern 2* shows that most of these adapters/translators were commissioned by theatrical, television or radio companies to produce a script of *Oedipus* that would fit in the needs of the particular productions; thus some justification of drastic cuts or changes can be observed in their published texts. Consequently, all adapters/translators had a particular theatre, producer, cast and audience in mind when writing their version of *Oedipus*. This practice places limits on one of Bassnett's theoretical arguments against performability. According to her, it does not make sense to imagine that during the translation process the translator decodes the gestic text of a ST while s/he sits at a desk and imagines the performance dimension (Bassnett, "The Case Against Performability," 100). As we have argued in section 2 of Chapter I and shall emphasize once again, there is enough evidence that adapters/translators whose versions are to be performed usually decode the gestic text of a ST and recode it in their version (target text; TT).

When further scrutinized, *Pattern 2* reveals a great gamut of interrelations between the script as it was once performed and then published. These interrelationships can be found in Chapters III, IV and V and classified into two groups. First, the interrelationship between a performed script and its published form; and, second, the chronological distance between the performed script and its publication.

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[515] For example, Yeats's *Sophocles' King Oedipus*.

[516] For instance, Schneider's adaptation of Fitts's and Fitzgerald's *Oedipus Rex* for his theatrical and filmed productions.

2.2.2.1.2.1. A performed script and its published form

From our observations we can conclude the following:

1. The initially performed script can be the same as its published form; i.e. Dryden's *Oedipus*, Yeats's *Sophocles' King Oedipus*, Cook's *Oedipus Rex*, Trypanis's *King Oedipus*, Burgess's *Oedipus the King*, Taylor's *Oedipus the King*, Wertenbaker's *Oedipus Tyrannos*.
2. The performed script can be (much) shorter than its published form; the best example of this category is Spender's *King Oedipus*. A good explanation for this difference between the script and its published form is that the script of *King Oedipus* was only a very small part of *King Oedipus*, *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Antigone*, which were produced as one play in three acts within the space of a single evening.

2.2.2.1.2.2. The chronological distance between the performed script and its published form

1. A number of years can pass between the first performance of the script and its first publication. Two examples falling in this category are: (1) Trypanis's *King Oedipus*, which was first radio broadcast in 1957-58 and published only in 1986; and (2) Cook's *Oedipus Rex* which was first produced in 1948 and published in 1957.
2. A shorter period (1-5 year span) can pass between the first performance of the script and its first publication. For instance, (a) Spender's *King Oedipus*, first performed in 1981 and published in 1985, fits in this category; and (2) Wertenbaker's *Oedipus Tyrannos*, which was first produced in 1991 and then published in 1992.
3. A simultaneous appearance of the performed script and its published form. In our study we have observed at least three versions of *Oedipus* which can be grouped in this category: Dryden's *Oedipus* (1678-1679), Burgess's *Oedipus the King* (1972) and Taylor's *Oedipus the King* (1986).

From the discussion of the patterns observed in the distribution of a translation of a source theatre text to a TS we can recognize at least two other factors, apart from the translator himself/herself, who play a crucial role in the communication process of a theatrical translation: a publisher and/or a producer.[517] If we want to illustrate the multi-faceted relation between a translator and a translation, a publisher and a producer, as it emerges from the discussion of the preceding patterns and their ramifications, we observe the following:

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[517] We are aware of the (co-)existence of other factors like film director or radio producer, in the dissemination of a theatre translation, but we shall confine our discussion to publishers and

1. translator + translation → publisher ⇒ published form(s) of a translation
2. translator + translation → producer ⇒ performance(s)
3. translator + translation → publisher ⇒ published form(s) of a translation → producer ⇒ performance(s)
4. translator + translation → producer ⇒ performance(s) → script[518] → publisher ⇒ published form(s) of a translation
5. translator + translation → publisher ⇒ published form(s) of the script
   translator + translation → producer ⇒ performance(s)

Figure 5. Translator ↔ publisher ↔ producer relationship(s)

From the above illustration we realize that a translator, publisher and producer are usually different individuals, but they are all target-oriented. This is particularly true for publishers and producers who are very keen to satisfy expectations of a general public within the TC/TS.

There are, however, two differences between a publisher and a producer, which may vary in degree and intensity. The first is that, whereas the importance of a publisher seems to stop upon the publication of a theatre translation, a producer and a production of a theatre translation may have an immediate effect upon a target theatrical audience and a lasting influence upon the reception of a source theatre text by a more general TS public. One of the best examples of this hypothesis is Guthrie's productions of *Oedipus Rex* at the Stratford Festival in 1954 and 1955.[519] Nevertheless, this is an illusion. In fact, a publisher's influence is subtler and can have either short-term or long-term effects upon the reception of a translation by a TS public through the continuous publications, editions and reprints of the same translation. This issue has been discussed throughout this dissertation.

The second and more fundamental difference between a publisher and a producer is that the latter must not only read the script or the published form of the translation[520] but also interpret it, "translate" it into theatre and put it on stage. It is during this process and during the theatrical production itself that we can study, but always in retrospect, the slow or drastic changes in theatrical, dramatic and acting conventions, and a possible interference of various social discourses. In our study we have had the opportunity to

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producers; only occasionally shall we refer to film or radio theatrical productions to support our argument.

[518] A script is the unpublished translated text used during the rehearsals and the performance.

[519] As discussed in section 2.3.1., Chapter IV.

[520] Depending upon whether a translation or a script is first published or not; see *Patterns 1* and 2.

examine some of these changes when presenting pictures taken from the actual performances. How producers can be diverse interpreters of one and the same script or translation of a SL theatre text is supported primarily by two diametrically different productions of Yeats's version of Sophocles' *King Oedipus*: (1) the production of *Oedipus Rex* by Michel Saint-Denis with the Old Vic Company in London and New York in 1945 and 1946; and (2) Tyrone Guthrie's *Oedipus Rex* at Stratford Festival in 1954 and 1955. In sections 1.2 and 2.3 of Chapter IV, we examined systematically the two productions as far as we can reconstruct them from various critical writings and *Pictures 12-16* (for Saint-Denis's production) and *Pictures 18-22* (for Guthrie's production). The focal point of this discussion was not the English version made by Yeats[521] but the theatrical productions themselves. While trying to analyze these two productions, we soon realized that their diversity rested on two distinct theatrical traditions co-existing within a wider English TS: that of stage realism (Saint-Denis's production) and presentational theatre (Guthrie's production). These two diametrically different productions of one and the same version of Sophocles' *Oedipus* support two hypotheses: (1) Once a theatre translation is performed, the SL dramatic text arrives at the TS not only through a particular translation but also through a script and a specific performance at a particular time (the semiotic concept of "here and now"). Therefore, theatrical productions can be of crucial importance for the reception of a SL theatre text by a TC audience; and (2) a theatre translation has to be published or made accessible to a TS in some other ways if two different productions of the same translation are to be realized at different time.

The second hypothesis, however, brings us closer to a thorny but pragmatic and practical issue: the stability of the written text of a translation and the ephemeral nature of its theatrical production. This issue cannot be overcome unless we consider that, in principle, the written text of a translation can function beyond the initial intentions and expectations of translators and adapters, publishers and producers. On the one hand, we can see a scholarly translation intended for bilingual readers being edited in different anthologies for a more general readership (i.e. Jebb; section 3.1.1., Chapter III) or a translation meant for general readership being published in different anthologies, and thus being used by a general redership and a more sophisticated public (i.e. Fagles; section 2.1.2.1., Chapter V). On the other hand, Yeats's *Sophocles'* King Oedipus, which was initially made for a stage performance, was repeatedly published in various anthologies, thus becoming acessible to every kind of readership.

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[521] We had already discussed it in section 3.3. of Chapter III.

Strangely enough, the stabilization of a script or translation through its first publication is of crucial importance for its future theatrical performances. Because it is published, a script/translation of a SL theatre text can be easily distributed, disseminated and read not only by readers, but also by producers who are usually different from the producer that had produced the script first. As a consequence, these new producers may wish to put the same script on stage again.

From this discussion we can extract two main postulates about the interrelationship between the written text of a theatre translation and its performance text.

1. Different scripts or translations of a source theatre text can be performed:

1. by different producers and companies, in different locations within the same TS during a **different** period. This is the most frequent occurrence. Examples are Murray's *Oedipus, King of Thebes*, which was performed in London in 1912 and Yeats's *Sophocles' King Oedipus* which was produced in Dublin in 1926.
2. by different producers and companies in different locations within the same or differentiated TS or TSs (i.e. the U.K. and North America) in the **same** year. Although this alternative sounds impobable, two striking examples in our study leave no room for doubts. First, on 15 January 1912 Murray's *Oedipus, King of Thebes* was performed at Covent Garden, London, whereas Jebb's *The Oedipus Tyrannus* was performed at Cambridge on November 26-30, 1912. Second, in September 1991 Fagles's *Oedipus the King* was produced by The Turning Theatre Company at Alton Hamshire, while Wertenbaker's *Oedipus Tyrannos* was produced by the Royal Shakespeare Company at Stratford-upon-Avon on 25 October 1991.

2. The same script or translation of a source dramatic text can be produced:

1. by the same producer and/or company in different locations within the same or differentiated TS during different periods. Three well-known examples of this situation are: (a) Yeats's *Sophocles' King Oedipus* which was performed by the Abbey Players in Dublin in 1926, and then the same script was also performed by the same players in New York in 1932; (b) Spender's *King Oedipus* was produced by Gordon McDougall at the Oxford Playhouse in 1981 and at the Arts Theatre, Cambridge, in 1983; and (c) Wertenbaker's *Oedipus Tyrannos* was produced by the Royal Shakespeare Company first at the Swan Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon in 1991, then at the Barbican Theatre, London in 1992.

2. by the same producer or company in the same location at a different time. We have encountered at least one example of this type of situation; Spender's *King Oedipus* was produced by Gordon Mcdougall at the Oxford Playhouse in 1981 and 1983.
3. by a different director in the same location within the same TS in a different year. In our study we have encountered two translations falling into this category: (a) Murray's *Oedipus, King at Thebes* was directed by Sir Martin-Harvey (along the lines of Reinhardt production) at Covent Garden in 1923; and (b) Yeats's *Sophocles'* King Oedipus was produced by Michael Cacoyannis at the Abbey Theatre in 1973.
4. by different producers and companies in different locations within the same or differentiated TS (i.e. the U.K. and North America) in the **same** year. The unique example of this category are the various productions of Fagles's *Oedipus the King*; for example, in 1985 his *Oedipus* was produced by the Educational Theatre Company at the University of Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada, and The Contact Theatre Company, University Theatre, Manchester, England.
5. by different producers and companies in different locations within the same or differentiated TS at different time. This is one of the most frequently observed situations and we have described it in our study at least three times: (a) Yeats's *Sophocles'* King Oedipus, which was produced by Lennox Robinson in Dublin in 1926, by Michel Saint-Denis and the Old Vic Company in London and New York in 1945 and 1946 respectively; by Guthrie at the Stratford Festival Productions in 1954 and 1955; and, finally, by Michael Cacoyannis at the Abbey Theatre in 1973; (b) Cook's *Oedipus Rex*, which was performed by different companies at the Tribuary Theatre of Boston in 1948 and at the Cleveland Playhouse in 1958; and (c) Fagles's *Oedipus the King*, which has been repeatedly performed in different locations in the U.K. and North America since 1982/1983.[522]

If we now try to understand the significance of the last postulates and their various ramifications for our discussion, we should remind ourselves that we have initiated this study to test whether the current polarization in theatre translation studies between readability as advocated by Susan Bassnett, and performability as adopted by Patrice Pavis,[523] is valid when applied to different translations and their theatrical performances, or if it is simply a reductionist illusion. So far, we have argued that Bassnett's statement that it is impossible for a theatre translator to write his/her translation imagining the actors performing is not valid; we have discussed how the different ramifications of *Pattern 2* support the opposite thesis.

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[522] For an analysis of the frequently performed translation of *Oedipus the King* made by Fagles see section 2.1.2.2. of Chapter V; see also under "Fagles, Robert" in sections C.3. and 3.2.2. of the Selected Bibliography appended to this dissertation.

[523] See section 2, Chapter I.

But if *Pattern 2* has helped us explore the limitations of Bassnett's argumentation, *Postulates 1* and *2* help us realize the multi-layered and multi-faceted relationship between a translation of a theatre text and its theatrical performances. Furthermore, these postulates can also point to some limitations in Pavis's theory of theatre translation. As we discussed in section 2.3.1. of Chapter I, Pavis, in his discussion of the series of concretizations, tries to reconstruct the transformations occuring from the moment of writing the original text (ST) up to its performance in the TS. What becomes evident from his theory of series of concretizations is that the theory itself lies exclusively in a synchronic/syntagmatic axis, which in itself is very limited. Letting To represent the original text, Pavis presents T as the text of the written translation. The problem with this statement is that it implies that at a given time there can be only one translation of an original theatre text (and no knowledge of the source text), something that can be dangerously presumptuous.

But having in mind that Pavis thinks and talks about a postmodern theatre, let us accept the assumption that there is only one written translation and follow his proposed steps of concretizations. Finding no problem with T1 and T2,[524] we pause on T3 and T4, where T3 stands for testing the written translation on stage and T4 for the stage concretization or "the performance text." According to Pavis, during T4, the last step of concretization, the ST finally arrives at the spectator in the TS/TC. Once again, it is evident that Pavis thinks only in terms of a very limited notion of synchrony or the "here and now" that is the very core of theatrical semiotization. In doing so, however, he excludes not only any diachronic possibilities and combinations, as presented in *Postulates 1* (1) and *2* (1), (2), (3) and (5) but also any other synchronic variations. Considering *Postulate 2* (4) in which the same translation can be produced by different producers and companies in different locations within the same or differentiated TS in the same year, we soon realize that a source theatrical text can be communicated and become popular with a TC audience not only through a single translation and a single production but also through a single translation which has been put on stage by *x* number of different producers and *v* number of different locations within the TS at the same time. With this addition to Pavis's theory, we can assert, therefore, that a SL theatre text can be received by a TL theatrical audience through one or several productions taking place in the TS in the same time. Yet, as soon as we make this implementation, we become aware of its drawback, for either it reduces a theatrical audience to "a spectator" or imposes an abstraction to a TS theatrical audience which is always specific and conditioned by location and time (the diachronic/paradigmatic axis). Furthermore, Pavis's discussion of the series of concretizations does not consider that other processes external to the performance itself may be and have been involved in the perception and reception of a SL theatrical text by a TL public. Therefore, we believe that it is time to turn our attention to some other processes.

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[524] T1 stands for the process during which the translator both as a reader and dramaturg makes choices in order to make his/her own translation and T2 for the process during which the translator prepares his/her translation by writing the plot, stage directions etc.

2.3. A TS public: readership, audience, viewers

To have a better insight into how the communication process of a SL theatre text to a TS takes place and how this ST is perceived and received by a TL public, we shall approach this issue from two different but overlapping standpoints. First, we shall try to elicit what usually generates a fluctuation (i.e. revivals, demands or declines) in the reception of a ST by a TS through translations and theatrical performances, and determine whether certain discourses have had any impact upon this fluctuation. Second, we shall examine whether there is any patterning in the changes of the composition of the TL public which can be related to, or might have played a vital role in, the fluctuation of the reception of the SL text during certain periods. Yet, in order to comprehend the process of perception and reception of a SL theatrical text by a TC, we shall try to ascertain whether we can draw some general conclusions about the reception process and the texture of a TS public.

2.3.1. An appropriated ST as an ATT (: Appropriated target text)

Let us now start our inquiry with a very general but fundamental question: "What generates the interest of a SL theatre text in the TS and eventually its translation(s) and performance(s)?" To find whether there is an answer to this question, we shall examine the periods during which we can observe either great demand for or revival of *Oedipus the King* in the English-speaking world as expressed in an appropriation, in a multitude of translations (new and reprints) and several ground-breaking theatrical performances of this tragedy.

The first serious demand for *Oedipus* in English can be observed, first, in Restoration England, and it was met by Dryden's *Oedipus*. Dryden's *Oedipus* is a by-product of its period and cannot be considered as a "real" translation of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*. It is rather an "imitation" or a manifestation of the highest degree of "appropriation" of an SL theatrical text. Despite the fact that Dryden's *Oedipus* is an ATT, it is of crucial importance for studies of translations as theatre and literarure because it shows how the Restoration public, formed by different discourses and conventions operating within and outside its culture, both influenced the making of Dryden's *Oedipus* and, eventually, was influenced by it. In section 2 of Chapter III, we tried to explore how the canonization of *Oedipus the King*, as the acclaimed tragedy *par excellence*, the rivalry between England and France for political and intellectual hegemony over seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, and the changes in dramatic and theatrical conventions made Dryden appropriate his *Oedipus* and have it performed according to the expectations of his contemporary public.

The fashioning of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* by Dryden was so substantial that it was transformed into a "Jacobean" *Oedipus* full of love, political intrigues and wholesale butchery at the end. It was Dryden's *Oedipus* that became the sole source of perception and reception of the Sophoclean *Oedipus* by the broader English public for almost a century. In other words, it was the appropriated *Oedipus* by Dryden that misled the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century British public to believe that Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* is as violent as Dryden's and, eventually, to consign it to oblivion as the bloodiest tragedy ever written. Before we try to elicit any postulates from Dryden's "imitation"/ "appropriation" of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*, we have to consider the only other instance of "radical re-interpretation"/"appropriation" of *Oedipus* in English: Burgess's *Oedipus the King*. As explored earlier,[525] Burgess's *Oedipus* is the only other case of "appropriation" of Sophocles' *Oedipus* in English, and its main source of inspiration was Lévi-Strauss's anthropological theories regarding the Oedipus myth. Nevertheless, we have seen that Burgess's version of *Oedipus* was by no means as influential as Dryden's *Oedipus* upon the reception of Sophocles' *Oedipus* by the English audience of the 1970s.

If we now try to formulate any postulates about how an ATT may be generated within a TS and, then, how it impacts upon the TL public's perception and reception of the SL theatre text, we are able to draw the following conclusions from the present study:

A. 1. When the maximum of an appropriation of a ST occurs in the TS, then it presupposes the presence and/or co-existence of : (1) various strong social discourses within the TS, like philosophy, politics, anthropology; (2) changes in dramatic and theatrical conventions which make the ST and its translations hard to be understood, thus, generating the necessity of an ATT to bring the SL closer and even make it look like one of the other target texts (TTs). In this case the process of appropriation of a SL text leads unavoidably to the slow process of its acculturation by the TC.

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[525] See sections 1.3.3.3.-1.3.3.3.3. of Chapter V and sections 2.2.1.1.-2.2.1.2. of Chapter VI.

2. During the appropriation process the ATT, first, becomes a pretext in the hands of the TL playwright to communicate his/her own ideas to his/her public, and, second, it can stand as a dramatic and theatrical text of its own.

3. But to stand as a text of its own, an ATT presupposes that it exerts a sort of influence upon the TS/TC and most of the time even outshines the SL text; i.e. Dryden's *Oedipus*. An ATT outshines the ST in a TS only if politics is the predominant discourse and promotes a particular ideology; i.e. Dryden's *Oedipus* was believed to be as good as Corneille's *Oedipe*, and, therefore, it was assumed that England could not only be equalled to, but be even better than, France in playwriting.

4. Politics and an ATT combined can have a very strong and lasting impact upon the reception of a SL theatrical text by the TS.

5. Therefore, the TL public perceives and receives the SL text only as an ATT. Once this occurs, we can say that the ATT outshines the ST.

6. The popularity of an ATT can last, first, for a while (at the most for a century) but then it is usually swept away by other discourses and is forgotten. A perfect example of this flux is Dryden's *Oedipus* which, although it outshone Sophocles' *Oedipus* for almost a century, passed into oblivion after industrious philological studies started showing that Dryden's *Oedipus* cannot be taken as Sophocles'. Second, the popularity of an ATT can last for a longer period due to a process of canonization. The last instance has not been observed in our study, but other plays (i.e. Brecht's *Die drei groschen Oper*) may fall into this category.

B. 1. When the minimum of an approriation of a ST occurs in the TS, then it pressuposes: (1) the presence of various influential discourses from within and outside the TS; i.e. Lévi-Strauss and Burgess's *Oedipus the King*; and (2) an experimentation with traditional dramatic and theatrical conventions; i.e. Burgess's experimentation with Elizabethan and Jacobean dramaturgy in his version of *Oedipus the King*.

2. The ATT, although it usually becomes a pretext in the hands of the TS writer, never outshines the ST. When an ATT does not outshine its ST, there is an indication that, although various discourses may be generating the ATT, politics is not one of them. If it had been, it would have either canonized the ATT in the TS or prevented it from being canonized within the TS/TC.

3. Then this kind of ATT is usually perceived and received as a translation or version of the ST rather than an ATT; i.e. Burgess's *Oedipus the King*.

2.3.2. Other types of ebbs and flows in the reception of a ST by a TL public through scripts and/or translations

But if we can see such an interconnectedness between the individual appropriator, various discourses and the public itself in the making and reception of an ATT, is it possible to formulate any postulates about what is involved in the reception process of a ST by a TS through translations and theatrical performances?

Although initially this goal seems almost impossible, we can derive some help from Chapters III, IV and V. One of the advantages of describing and analyzing a large corpus of data, such as that of *Oedipus the King*, is that it gives a wide spectrum not only of the synchronic or syntagmatic axis of translations and performances but also of the diachronic or paradigmatic one. Diachrony is an indispensable tool in our study, if we try to examine any flux in the reception of a SL theatrical text by a TS. Now to draw the most valid conclusions from our study we shall try to see: (1) whether actual revivals of, and demands for, a SL text within a TL are identical or overlapping practices in the reception of *Oedipus* or not; (2) whether various discourses, dramatic and theatrical conventions are involved in these revivals and demands; (3) what changes, if any, we can observe in the structure of the general TL public; and (4) how these changes are related to the revivals of and the demands for *Oedipus the King* in English.

Let us start this inquiry with the question we asked in Chapter III: Why has Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* been translated and performed so often? Trying to answer this question, we argued that Aristotle's discussion of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* in his *Poetics* as the epitome of classical Greek tragedy played a tremendous role in the reception of this drama by the West in general, and by the English-speaking world in particular. Although it is not evident, the *Poetics*, a philosophical discourse and a critical canon in itself, initiated literary theories and debates about the notion of tragedy which resulted in the need for translations or appropriations of this play. In this subtle and lasting impact of the Aristotelian discussion of *Oedipus*, especially from the Renaissance to the early eighteenth century, we can discern a slow but steady process of canonization of this tragedy, a process which became more conspicuous in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

2.3.2.1. The Various Demands for Appropriations, Translations and Performances of a SL Text (*Oedipus the King*) in a Wider English TS

2.3.2.1.1. From the late seventeenth to the late nineteenth century

As discussed earlier, it was Dryden's appropriation of *Oedipus* that resulted in a misconception that Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* is the bloodiest of the tragedies. Why, we may wonder, was Dryden's *Oedipus* so influential upon the English TS? To answer this question a strange phenomenon within the English market itself should be observed; while Dryden's version of *Oedipus* was popular with Restoration England, there were many "real" translations available in the English TS. The majority of these translations, however, were literal translations in English prose and addressed to a very particular public: bilingual readers, that is, classical scholars, students of Classics, or high-school students who studied this text as a requirement in their curriculum. This moderate demand for bilingual editions of Sophocles' *Oedipus* can be understood only in the context of a more general interest of the English public for Greek letters and Attic drama.[526]

Furthermore, during this period a high concentration of interest in the Attic drama could be found almost exclusively in the U.K. mainly because of the Porsonian tradition in classical scholarship.[527] Therefore, what we can see is that, while Dryden's *Oedipus* continued to be performed and reprinted for a Greekless public, other literal translations and performances of *Oedipus* in Greek were also popular with the TS and played an important role in the reception of *Oedipus* by a sophisticated and relatively bilingual audience. After the last recorded performance of Dryden's *Oedipus* in 1755, there were only a few performances of *Oedipus* in English, which were organized almost exclusively by departments of Classics. There is no evidence, so far, of any performances of this play by professional theatrical companies for a more general theatrical audience, despite the fact that there were so many translations available to the English market. An explanation for this situation comes from within the TS: Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* was banned from the British stage for almost a century. It was only in 1912 that this censorship was lifted.

From the above discussion it becomes clear, first, that the public in any system or culture in general and in a TS/TC in particular can never be homogeneous. It can be either an average, general, monolingual public or an audience with various degrees of sophistication and bilingual aptitudes. This heterogeneity of publics is not always an exclusive one, for publics can interact and overlap. It can also generate the demand for different sorts of translations and/or appropriations of the ST or may enhance a conflict of interests within the TS. Second, the reception of a SL theatrical text by a TS is always influenced positively or negatively by social discourses. For example, during a particular period political discourses can be evolved from a hegemonic but, nevertheless,beneficial and promoting discourse for Dryden's *Oedipus* into an interfering and very prohibitive discourse, a censorship.That is the main reason for the anomaly observed between translations and performances of *Oedipus the King* from late eighteenth to late nineteenth century. Whereas the moderate demand for translations of *Oedipus* was met sufficiently, the need for theatrical performances of *Oedipus* for a general audience was inhibited by a strict censorship and only theatrical performances for a classics-oriented audience were allowed.

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[526] We should keep in mind that during that period classical education in England was related to its class structure.

[527] See section 3 of Chapter III.

In the present context it is necessary to keep in mind that the situation in North America was different. Although classical scholarship was being established, was censorship never imposed upon a play like *Oedipus*, which inspired Yeats to start working on his version of *Sophocles' King Oedipus*.[528] Thus, we are led to assume that since the late eighteenth century there have been two interrelated but distinct (sub-)systems within the English TS: Britain and North America. Since then, although interaction and interdependence of these two systems regarding translations and theatrical performances of *Oedipus* have become stronger and stronger, the structure of the public of these two systems has been differentiated and, consequently, the reception of this Sophoclean play by the North American and British TSs has varied significantly.

2.3.2.1.2. General remarks about revivals of and demands for a SL theatrical text within a TS

In section 3 of Chapter III we tried to describe the many faces of the revival of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus* during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. Although there is a blurring of borderlines, we observed that three main discourses from within (England) and from the outside (Germany), that is, philology, politics and philosophy, generated not only an explosion in translations of *Oedipus the King* but also a ground-breaking theatrical performance of the same play. Although this revival can be seen as a development of various discourses and a need for translations more accessible to an average English audience, we argue that this does not explain why the major part of British critical attention was on the structure of the Greek theatre and the Greek theatrical performances, as well as on the character and the myth of Oedipus. These classical and theatrical discussions, however, had been triggered by German philosophical, archaeological and theatrical theories. The importation of these German views into the British TS carries a special weight for our thesis, for it shows what has been "neatly" excluded from translation studies: that during the reception process of a ST by a TS there is a great possibility for another culture to intervene in this reception. This point can also be supported by the fact that one of the most important and influential theatrical performances of *Oedipus* at the time was not realized by a British, but by the Austrian/German producer, Max Reinhardt.

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[528] See section 3.3. of Chapter III.

Another interesting conclusion to be drawn is that perhaps for the first time in the English-speaking world a publication of a translation of a theatre text, Murray's *Oedipus, King of Thebes* (in late 1911) and its theatrical production by Reinhardt (in early 1912) was needed by a general British public. In the present context, we should recall three major points:

1. Murray's translation was made in the discourse of Victorian English verse and intended to bring Sophocles' *Oedipus* closer to an average non-Greek readership.
2. Reinhardt's production introduced and applied certain German archaeological theories regarding Greek theatre, and was made for a general English theatrical audience; and
3. Reinhardt's production of *Oedipus Rex* in London (1912) marked a new era for the British theatre because: (a) it lifted the ban of this play from the English stage; (b) it showed to a non-Greek public how a Greek tragedy could be performed, thus having a profound impact upon the perception and reception of this tragedy by the British audience; and (c) it altered the relationship between performers and audience.

Considering these remarks and some made in Chapters III, IV and V, we can make some general observations about how a revival in the reception of a ST by the TC/TS is processed, and try to see the relation between the concepts revival and market demand as observed in the corpus of our data.

2.3.2.1.2.1. Definition of revivals and market demands in the reception of a ST by a TS

1. A revival is not to be confused with a market demand. Although it can be generated by, and result in, a great demand, this concept in practice is never identical with market demand.
2. A revival differs from a market demand in that in order for the former to occur something radically new has to be introduced in the TS, something which is able to initiate great and radical shifts in thinking and attitudes of the TC; for example

Nietzsche's theories about tragedy and Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*, as discussed in Chapter III.

3. The most frequent results of such *peripeties* in attitudes toward a ST within a TS is a parallel shift in the structure of the TL public and, therefore, in the process of canonization of the ST in the TS. For instance, in Murray's translation and Reinhardt's production of *Oedipus*, we can observe a shift of emphasis from a classical readership and audience to a general and non-Greek public. The result of this shift was a great demand for reprints of older translations, new translations and theatrical performances of this tragedy primarily by the British TS.

4. We have observed that revivals of and market demands for a ST within a TS public may recur. Yet, there is a basic distinction between the recurrence of revivals and market demands. On the one hand, revivals of a ST within a TS are never identical. In our study we have encounted two great revivals of *Oedipus the King*: in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and in the mid-1950s. As we discussed in section 3 of Chapter III, the first revival of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus* is to be found on the threshold of various discourses, translations and theatrical practices (i.e. Murray + Reinhardt = production of *Oedipus Rex*; Yeats + Robinson = production of *Sophocles'* King Oedipus). The second revival is also to be found in the intersection of various discourses, the slow process of canonization and institutionalization of *Oedipus the King* within the wider North American TS, and in Guthrie's production of *Oedipus Rex* in Stratford, Canada, in the mid-1950s.

   On the other hand, market demands of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus* within the English TS present two common patterns, which, although they come in different disguises, are fundamentally the same. First, they are initiated by either a slowed or accelerated process of canonization, which is highly determined by the structure of a given public at a given moment in history. In Chapters III, IV and V we have seen how, by establishing *Oedipus* as the tragedy par excellence, Aristotle's *Poetics* influenced the reception of this tragedy by the West, and by the English-speaking world, through the centuries. The fact that *Oedipus* has become either a model to be imitated or refashioned, a text to be studied by bilingual and non-Greek readers in both Greek and English, and a play to be experimented with by various producers, signifies a persistent and consistent process of canonization of *Oedipus* as a masterpiece of world literature and theatre. The difference between various processes of canonization of *Oedipus* lies only in the texture of the public which can vary according to the different periods. For example, for a long period *Oedipus* was taught only as a classical text at highschools and universities as part of the curriculum. With the decline of classical studies, however, a non-Greek general public, which had always co-existed with the sophisticated bilingual one, emerged and demanded translations of this tragedy designed for people who wanted to experience reading *Oedipus* without having to learn Greek. This demand was first met with poetic translations of *Oedipus the King*, as discussed in section 3.2. in Chapter III. As we approach the 1950s, we see that the foundation and co-existence of various departments such as drama/ theatre departments and departments of comparative literature, and courses on "Great Books" in English departments and programmes of the humanities at universities in North America generated different publics and established various theatrical texts like *Oedipus* as masterpieces of world literature and cornerstones of world drama. Nonetheless, it is important for this study that all of these publics have always depended upon a wide range of translations. (A detailed discussion of the variability of different publics within a wider English TS and its interconnectedness with various types of translations can be found in Chapter V of this dissertation).

5. Like market demands, revivals can also be, and usually are, generated by various social discourses which can be conflicting, overlapping or complementary and vary from period to period; see relevant discussions in Chapters III, IV, V.

To sum up, it is clear from *Points 1-5* that despite their similarities, revivals and market demands are never identical. Perhaps one of the most important aspects of these points, especially for a formulation of a sound theory of theatre translation, is to be found in *Point 4*, and our comparison between the two distinct revivals of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus* in the late nineteenth and twentieth century (Murray+Reinhardt, Yeats+Robinson) and the mid-1950s (Guthrie+Yeats). Upon examining these different revivals of *Oedipus*, we found that, although they differ in scope, degree and intensity, these revivals do carry a striking similarity. In both cases, the theatrical productions or "performance texts" played more important and active roles in the revival of *Oedipus* in English than the actual translations themselves. The reason has already been presented, but is too subtle to be recognized at once. Flooded by tens, if not hundreds, of translations of Sophocles' *Oedipus*, the British and North American TSs would consider Murray's or Yeats's written texts of translations as two among so many other English translations of the same original Greek text. What, however, fleshed out Murray and Yeats's versions of *Oedipus* and made them important for the British and North American TSs were their theatrical productions by Reinhardt and Guthrie respectively. Although drastically different from each other, both productions share a great similarity: they were both ground-breaking productions for their time in the sense that both producers, each in his own way, dared either to apply various theories regarding Greek theatre and production to his own production of *Oedipus*, or to experiment with forms and acting syles that were considered taboo in the theatrical world at the time. From the observations discussed, we can conclude that **during (great periods of) revivals in the reception of a SL theatrical by a TS, it is a particular theatrical performance of a translation of the ST which plays the more important role**.

Moreover, in the mid-1950s revival of Greek tragedy and *Oedipus the King*, we observed two other elements which we have occasionally referred but never analyzed in detail: television productions (filmed theatre) and radio drama. Although it is not within our expertise to discuss these other semiotic systems, we have observed some intriguing correlations between these semiotic systems and the scripts and/or the written texts of various translations of *Oedipus*; these correlations are leading us to further postulates.

Correlations between radio and television theatre and the written text of a translation of a SL theatrical text

1. Radio theatre and companies use either published translations, which are not necessarily adaptations, or they commission translators/poets or translators/playwrights to write one. In the first category fall at least two of the versions we have encountered: Yeats's *Sophocles'* King Oedipus, which was broadcast by BBC Belfast Studio in 1931 and Fagles's *Oedipus the King* by BBC, Radio 3, World Theatre in 1985. The second category has been drawn from Trypanis's *King Oedipus*, which was commissioned and broadcast by BBC for the Third Programme in 1957-58.
2. TV theatre and companies use either published translations, which they frequently adapt for the needs and time limits governing a television production, or they commission playwrights/translators or film directors/adapters to write a version. In the first category fall Fitts's and Fitzgerald's *Oedipus Rex* and Fagles's *Oedipus the King*. On the one hand, Fitts's and Fitzgerald's *Oedipus Rex* was presented on "Omnibus" over Channel 7 in New York in January 1957, only after it had been adapted by Walter Kerr for a 90-minute presentation and directed by Alan Schneider.[529] On the other hand, Fagles's *Oedipus the King* was part of The Literature Project and presented by Maryland Public Project in 1991.[530] To the second sub-category of *Postulate 2* belong Knox's *Oedipus the King* and Taylor's

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[529] See section 3.2. in Chapter IV.

[530] More details about this project are unavailable.

Oedipus the King. Whereas the former was funded by the American Council for a television course in the humanities for junior high school students,[531] Taylor's *Oedipus the King* was commissioned and used by BBC-TV productions.[532]

The importance of these radio and film productions of *Oedipus the King* rests in particular on the fact that they made this Sophoclean play more accessible to a much wider English target public (i.e. a general public, students, scholars) than ever before through English translations/translations which, however, were now transmitted through the different but powerful means of communication radio and television.

From our discussion of the ebb and flow in the reception of a SL theatrical text by a TS, we shall now try to conceptualize and then to schematize all possible variations of publics in the British and North American TSs which may co-exist and overlap but remain distinct.

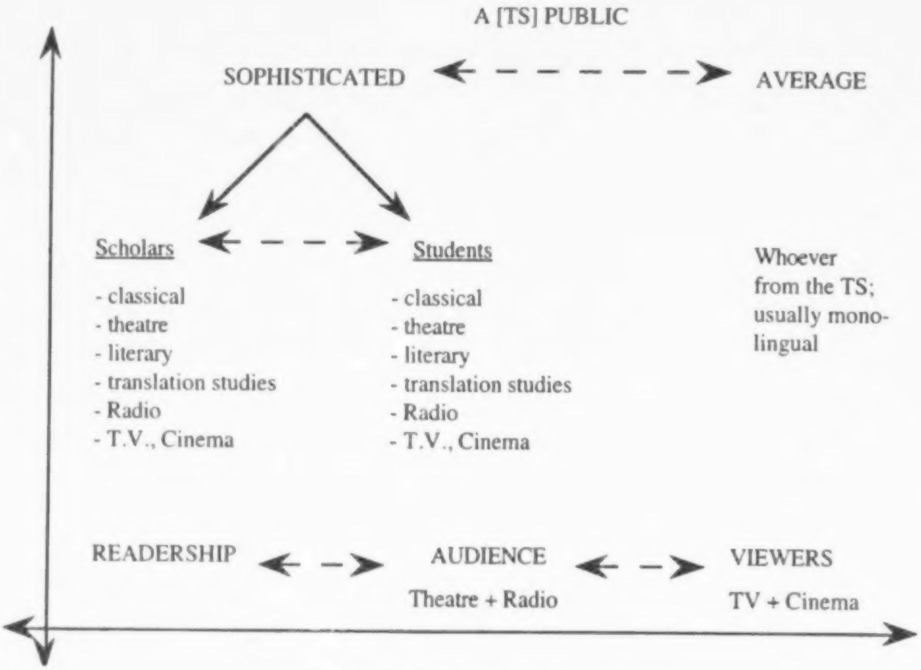
A [TS] PUBLIC
SOPHISTICATED
AVERAGE
Scholars
- classical
- theatre
- literary
- translation studies
- Radio
- T.V., Cinema
Students
- classical
- theatre
- literary
- translation studies
- Radio
- T.V., Cinema
Whoever from the TS; usually monolingual
READERSHIP
AUDIENCE
Theatre + Radio
VIEWERS
TV + Cinema

Figure 6. Variability of and in a [TS] public.

In *Figure 6*, the broken arrows illustrate the two major types of a public in general and a TS in particular: an average and a sophisticated public, which can co-exist and interract within a TC at a particular time. They also parallel three primary modes of perception and reception of a SL theatrical text by a TL public: readership, audience and viewers.[533] The different kinds of the public and the modes of their perception and reception of a SL text usually vary according to their mobility on the horizontal straight arrow which signifies any observed changes on the synchronic and syntagmatic axis. On the other hand, the broken arrows denote the development and/or the interchangeability of the various sorts of the TS public and their modes of reception of a SL text according to their mobility of the vertical straight arrow; this vertical straight arrow stands for the diachronic and paradigmatic axis.

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[531] See section 3.3. in Chapter IV.

[532] See section 2.2.2.3. in Chapter V.

It is clear from our study and *Figure 6* that time and location (the U.K. and North America) are the two consistent and determining variables which participate in the complex process of the reception of a translation of a SL theatrical text by a TS public and within the interchangeability of the various TS publics. Moving constantly on the horizontal and vertical axes, these variables offer a wide spectrum of interrelationships between the reception of a translation of a SL text and the TS public; these interrelationships, however, cannot be predicted in advance but only described in retrospect. For example, in our study we have observed that a TS public can vary greatly according to the location (the U.K. and North America) at a particular time. If this is the case, then the TS public moves only on a synchronic axis. This is one of the least discussed issues in theatre translation studies, since there is no study up to now to present various theatrical performances of the same translation in different locations (the U.K. and North America) in the same year. In our *Postulates 1* (2) and *2* (4) we have dealt with this complex issue in some detail. Moreover, a TS public may vary drastically once it enters the diachronic and paradigmatic axis. That means that while the different kinds of a TS public and the modes of their reception of a SL text move in time and place, various expectations (i.e. dramatic, theatrical, literary and social) may change and, therefore, a slow, moderate or radical change in the process of canonization of a SL theatrical text within a TS is observed.

FINAL REMARKS

In this study we have tried to illustrate that when a source theatrical play, like Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*, is examined or approached as a translated, published and produced play text, it defies any current theoretical polarization between readability and performability, and proves it to be a reductionist illusion. It shows that, in practice, there are no precise divisions between a reader-oriented translation and a performance-oriented translation but rather a blurring of borderlines. It also shows that this blurring between the theoretical notions of readability and performability is due to two main reasons. First, an intercultural communication always depends upon various and highly complex processes which influence not only the production of a theatre translation, but also its distribution and reception by a multi-faceted target public. In order to determine what is involved in these processes and to propose a sound working hypothesis for theatre translation, we have had to proceed with an interdisciplinary approach that has gone beyond a strict "investigation into the linguistic structuring of extant theatre texts" or a limited "historiography of theatre translation,"[534] and has included extratextual, paratextual and peritextual evidence.

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[533] These types of public and modes of perception and reception are found, of course, not only in a TS but also in a SS.

The second reason for the blurring of the borderlines between the theoretical constructs of readability and performability points to the fact that these two extreme positions, no matter how different they are, seem to share, in principle, the weakness of all prescriptive approaches in translation studies. This common characteristic becomes clear whenever such postulates as readability and perfomability are either applied or compared to actual translations and theatrical performances and their historical functioning.

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[534] See Susan Bassnett, "Translating for the Theatre: The Case Against Performability," *TTR* IV.1 (1991): 111.

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C. SOPHOCLES' *OEDIPUS THE KING* IN ENGLISH: TEXTS AND THEATRICAL PERFORMANCES

3. English translators and adapters of *Oedipus the King* and their translations, adaptations and versions in alphabetical order[537]

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[537] The following list is the result of four-years of research on translations and performances of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* in English. Because this list is the first attempt to compile any list of translations, versions and performances of *Oedipus the King*, it can be considered fairly comprehensive but not final. This list has been prepared with the help of *British Museum: General Catalogue of Printed Books*, *The National Union Catalog*, the library holdings at the University of Alberta, different libraries around the world, private collections and the translators themselves. The help that I was offered by translators and various scholars is acknowledged, when appropriate. I have been able to realize this research and prepare this catalogue only because I held an Izaak Walton Killam Memorial Doctoral Scholarship (1991-1993) and a Province of Alberta Graduate Fellowship (1993-1994), which allowed me to travel, collect and classify this material indispensable for my Ph.D. dissertation.

[538] If the translation of *Oedipus* is part of a book and the page numbers do not appear in this study, it signifies that the book is out of circulation or cannot be found in any library or has been unavailable during this research.

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[539] For further details for that production, see sections 2.2., 2.2.1. and 2.2.2., Chapter III of this dissertation.

[540] I am deeply grateful to Professor Robert Fagles (Department of Comparative Literature, Princeton University) who, in an interview in December 1992, offered me the information about all the different editions and performances of his translation of *Oedipus the King*. Needless to say, without his help I would never have been able to complete this entry.

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[541] I am indebted to Professor John A. Hawkins (Drama Department, University of Alberta) who allowed me to use invaluable information from his Ph.D. Dissertation, "A Critical Biography of Alan Scneider," Diss. Tufts University, 1978. 162-67.

[542] This information is from an unpublished manuscript which Professor Hawkins gave me to use it in my dissertation. I am indebted to this scholar for all his help and kindness.

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[543] My attention has been drawn to the fact that David Grene's translation *Oedipus the King* has been used repeatedly in theatrical performances in North America. Nevertheless, due to the fact that I have not been able to find details about the locations and dates of these performances, I cannot comment upon them.

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Performances

---. *Sophocles:* Oedipus, King of Thebes. It was **produced** by Max Reinhardt as *Oedipus Rex* at Covent Garden, London, on 15 January 1912; Sir John Martin-Harvey played the role of Oedipus.

---. *Sophocles:* Oedipus, King of Thebes. It was **directed** by Sir John Martin-Harvey as *Oedipus Rex* at Covent Garden, London and New York in 1923. In those performances Sir John Martin-Harvey followed the lines of the Reinhardt production at Covent Garden in 1912. He himself also played the role of Oedipus.

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Performances

---. *King Oedipus. The Oedipus Trilogy*. It was **performed**, and **directed** by Gordon Mcdougall at the Oxford Playhouse, Oxford, in 1981.

---. *King Oedipus. The Oedipus Trilogy*. It was **performed** at the Oxford Playhouse, Oxford, for two weeks in March 1983.

---. *King Oedipus. The Oedipus Trilogy*. It was **performed** at the Arts Theatre, Cambridge, for one week in 1983.

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---. *Oedipus the King*. The Greek text translated into English verse by Francis Storr, with an introd. by Thornton Wilder. Illustrated with wood engravings by Demetrios Galanis. New York: Printed for the members of the Limited Editions Club by J. Enschedé. Haarlem, 1955. [Greek and English].

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Taylor, Don. *Oedipus the King*. *The Theban Plays*. London: Methuen Drama. Rpt. 1991. 1-61. [1st ed. 1986]. It was used in a BBC-TV production in autumn 1986.

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Truman, Nalhan Elbert. *Oedipus the King: A New Translation*. New York: Hobson Book P, 1946.

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Vellacott, Philip. *Oedipus Tyrannus. Sophocles and Oedipus: A Study of Oedipus Tyrannus with a New Translation*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: The U of Michigan P, 1971. 2-99.

Walker, Charles B. *Oedipus the King, and Oedipus at Colonus. A New Translation for Modern Readers and Theatergoers*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1966.

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Performances

---. *Oedipus Tyrannos. The Thebans*. It was **directed** by Adrian Noble, and **performed** by the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) at the Swan Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon on 25 October 1991.

---. *Oedipus Tyrannos. The Thebans*. It was **directed** by Adrian Noble, and **performed** by the RSC at the Barbican Theatre, London, on 27 August 1992.[545]

Whitelaw, Robert. *Oedipus the King. Sophocles*. London: Rivingtons, 1883. 1-64.

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[544] Locations and dates of these performances are unavailable.

[545] I am obliged to Professor Carl Hare (Drama Department, Unversity of Alberta) who brought the programme of these performances from London and, thus, enabled me to use the relevant information in this entry.

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Yeats, W.B. *Sophocles' King Oedipus: A Version for the Modern Stage*. London: Macmillan, 1928.

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---. *Sophocles' King Oedipus*. Ed. Balachandra Rajan. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1969. 51-99.

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Performances, Radio and TV Broadcast

---. *Sophocles' King Oedipus*. *A Version for the Modern Stage*. It was **produced** by Lennox Robinson at Abbey Theatre, Dublin, on December 7, 1926. F.J. McCormick played the role of Oedipus.

---. *Sophocles' King Oedipus*. *A Version for the Modern Stage*. It was **radio broadcast** from BBC Belfast Studio by the Abbey Players on 14 September 1931.

---. *Sophocles' King Oedipus*. *A Version for the Modern Stage*. The Abbey Theatre Irish Players gave a single performance of Yeats's version of *Oedipus* in New York in 1932.[546]

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[546] Daniel Blum, *A Pictorial History of the American Theatre: 1860-1976*, enl. and rev. by John Willis, 4th ed. (New York: Crown, 1977) 256-57.

---. "Oedipus Rex." It was **directed** by Michel Saint-Denis, and **performed** by the Old Vic Company at the New Theatre in London in 1945; the role of Oedipus was performed by Sir Laurence Olivier.

---. "Oedipus Rex." An **Old Vic Production** at the Century Theatre, New York, in 1946. Once again, Sir Laurence Olivier performed the title role.[547]

---. *Sophocles' King Oedipus*. It was **produced** by Sir Tyrone Guthrie as *Oedipus Rex* at the Stratford Shakespearean Festival, Ontario, Canada, from 15 July to 20 August 1954. 17 performances. James Mason played the role of Oedipus.[548]

---. *Sophocles' King Oedipus*. It was **produced** by Sir Tyrone Guthrie and Tanya Moiseiwitsch as *Oedipus Rex* at the Stratford Shakespearean Festival, Ontario, Canada, from 28 June to 26 August 1955. 14 performances. That time, Douglas Campbell played the title role.[549]

---. *Sophocles' King Oedipus*. It was **produced** by Sir Tyrone Gurthie as *Oedipus Rex* with the Stratford Shakespearean Festival Players at the Edinburgh Festival in 1956.

---. "Oedipus Rex." *King Oedipus*. Based on version by W.B. Yeats. **[Motion picture script]**. [n.p. 1957].

---. *Sophocles' King Oedipus*. It was **produced** by Michael Cacoyannis at the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, in 1973.

Young, Charles Duke. *The Tragedies of Sophocles*, in English prose, a new literal translation, with copious notes. Cambridge: John Hall & London: H. Washbourne, 1844.

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Young, Sir George. *Oedipus Tyrannus. The Dramas of Sophocles*, rendered in English verse, dramatic and lyric. Cambridge: Dreighton, Bell & London: G. Bell, 1888. 199-274.

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[547] Daniel Blum, *A Pictorial History of the American Theatre: 1860-1976*, enl. and rev. by John Willis, 4th ed. (New York: Crown, 1977) 310-12.

[548] J. Allan B. Somerset, *The Stratford Festival Story: A Catalogue-Index to the Stratford, Ontario, Festival.1953-1990* (New York, Westport, Conn. & London: Greenwood P, 1991) 3-4.

[549] See: (1) *Reference Data on the Stratford Shakepearean Festival: Third Annual Season of Drama June 27-August 27. Inaugural Season of Music July 9-August 6 1955*, n. pag.; and (2) J. Allan B. Somerset, *The Stratford Festival Story: A Catalogue-Index to the Stratford, Ontario, Festival. 1953-1990* (New York, Westport, Conn. & London: Greenwood P, 1991) 4-5.

---. *Oedipus Tyrannus. The Dramas of Sophocles*, rendered in English verse, dramatic and lyric. [Everyman's Library No 114 Classical]. Ed. Ernest Rhys. London: J.M. Dent & New York: E.P. Dutton, 1906. 128-73.

---. *Oedipus Tyrannus. The Dramas of Sophocles*, rendered in English verse, dramatic and lyric. [Everyman's Library No 114 Classical]. Ed. Ernest Rhys. London: J.M. Dent & New York: E.P. Dutton, 1957. 128-73. [1st ed. 1906].

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3.1. Criticism on the English translators and adapters of *Oedipus the King*

Bridgwater, Patrick. "That Strong Enchanter (W.B. Yeats)." *Nietzsche in Anglosaxony. A Study of Nietzsche's Impact on English and American Literature*. Leicester: Leicester UP, 1972. 67-90.

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Clark, David R. *Yeats at Songs and Choruses*. Amherst, Mass.: U of Mass. P, 1983.

--- and James B. McGuire. *W.B. Yeats: The Writing of* Sophocles' King Oedipus. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1989.

Dorn, Karen. *Players and Painted Stage. The Theatre of W.B. Yeats*. Sussex: The Harvester P & New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1984.

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George Gilbert Ime Murray: A Journey of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Gilbert Murray Celebrated in the University of Delhi. Delhi: Faculty of Arts, U of Delhi, 1966.

Smith, Jean and Arnold Toynbee, eds. *Gilbert Murray: An Unfinished Autobiography*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960.

Thatcher, David S. "William Butler Yeats." *Nietzsche in England: 1890-1914*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1970. 139-73.

West, Francis. *Gilbert Murray: A Life*. London: Croom Helm & New York: St. Martin's 1984.

Wilkins, John and Matthew Macleod. *Sophocles:* Antigone *and* Oedipus the King*: A Companion to the Peguin Translation of Robert Fagles*. Bristol: Bristol Classical P, 1987.

3.2. English Performances of *Oedipus the King*

3.2.1. General discussion

Pilikian, Hovhanness I. "Greek Tragedy in Contemporary Performance." *Theatre Quaterly (TQ)* 9.35 (1979): 55-68.

Walton, J. Michael. *Living Greek Theatre: A Handbook of Classical Performance and Modern Production*. New York, Westport, Conn. & London: Greenwood P, 1987.

3.2.2. Actual performances of English translations, versions and adaptations of *Oedipus the King* in chronological order[550]

Dryden, John and Nathaniel Lee. *Oedipus*. It was performed by the Duke's Company at the Dorset Garden for the season **1678-79**. Thomas Betterton played the role of Oedipus and Samuel Sanford the role of Creon. It remained popular for almost a century and was performed several times. The last recorded performance occured in January 1765.

Theobald, Lewis. *Oedipus, King of Thebes: A Tragedy*. It was performed in London in **1715**.

Francklin, Thomas. *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles*, acted at Triennial Visitation of Reading School October 15, 16, 17, **1806**.

Jebb, Sir R.C. *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles*, as arranged for performance at Cambridge, **1887**. (I) The text in Greek and English. (II) The incidental music written by C. Villiers Stanford. Cambridge: Macmillan, 1887.--"The Greek text and the English prose translation ... from Professor Jebb's second eddition of the play ... The translation of the choruses into English verse .. by A.W. Verrall.

The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles, Translated and presented by the students of Notre Dame University, Notre Dame, Indiana. May 15, **1899**. ... Notre Dame, IN: Indiana UP, 1899.

Murray, Gilbert. *Sophocles: Oedipus, King of Thebes*. It was produced by Max Reinhardt as *Oedipus Rex* at Covent Garden, London, on 15 January **1912**. Sir John Martin-Harvey played the role of Oedipus.

Jebb, Sir R.C. *Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles* as performed at Cambridge, November 22-26, 1887, November 26-30, **1912**. With a translation in prose by the late Sir R.C.Jebb ... and a translation of the songs in verse ... by the late A.W. Verrall.

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[550] The following catalogue is the first attempt to compile a list of actual performances of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* in English, arranged in chronological order. Due to the lack of evidence in some cases (e.g. David Grene), this list cannot be considered comprehensive or final.

Murray, Gilbert. *Sophocles*. Oedipus, King of Thebes. It was directed by Sir John Martin-Harvey as *Oedipus Rex* at Covent Garden, London, and in New York **1923**. In these performances Sir John Martin-Harvey followed the lines of the Reinhardt production at Covent Garden in 1912. He himself also played the role of Oedipus.

Yeats, W.B. *Sophocles'* King Oedipus. *A Version for the Modern Stage*. It was produced by Lennox Robinson at Abbey Theatre, Dublin, on December 7, **1926**. F.J. McCormick played the role of Oedipus.

---. *Sophocles'* King Oedipus. *A Version for the Modern Stage*. It was broadcast from BBC Belfast Studio by the Abbey Players on 14 September **1931**.

---. *Sophocles'* King Oedipus. *A Version for the Modern Stage*. The Abbey Theatre Irish Players gave a single performance of Yeats's version of *Oedipus* in New York in **1932**.[551]

Hunt, A.J. *The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles*, the Greek text with English. As produced in the Bradfield College Greek Theatre, June **1937**.

Yeats, W.B. "Oedipus Rex." It was produced by Michel Saint-Denis, and performed by the Old Vic Company at the New Theatre, London, **1945**. The role of Oedipus was performed by Sir Laurence Olivier.

---. "Oedipus Rex." An Old Vic Production at the Century Theatre, New York, in **1946**. Once again, Sir Laurence Olivier performed the title role of Oedipus.

Cook, Albert. *Oedipus Rex*. It was performed at the Tributary Theatre of Boston, **1948**.

Fitts, Dudley and Robert Fitzgerald. *Oedipus Rex: An English Version*. It was performed as *Oedipus the King*; and directed by Alan Schneider at the Catholic University, Washington D.C. in March **1950**.

Yeats, W.B. *Sophocles'* King Oedipus. It was produced by Sir Tyrone Gurthie as *Oedipus Rex* at the Stratford Shakespearean Festival, Ontario, Canada, from 15 July to 20 August **1954**. 17 performances. James Mason played the role of Oedipus.

---. *Sophocles'* King Oedipus. It was produced by Sir Tyrone Guthrie and Tanya Moiseiwitsch as *Oedipus Rex* at the Stratford Shakespearean Festival, Ontario, Canada, from 28 June to 26 August **1955**. 14 performances. This time its was Douglas Campbell who played the role of Oedipus.

Fitts, Dudley and Robert Fitzgerald. *Oedipus Rex: An English Version*. It was performed and broadcast as *Sophocles' "Oedipus the King"* for the TV-Radio Workshop of

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[551] Daniel Blum, *A Pictorial History of the American Theatre: 1860-1976*, enl. and rev. by John Willis, 4th ed. (New York: Crown Publishers, 1977) 256-57.

The Ford Foundation in **1956**. It was adapted by Walter Kerr and directed by Alan Schneider.

Yeats, W.B. *Sophocles' King Oedipus*. It was produced by Sir Tyrone Gurthie as *Oedipus Rex* with the Stratford Shakespearean Festival Players at the Edinburgh Festival in **1956**.

Yeats, W.B. "Oedipus Rex." *King Oedipus*. Based on version by W.B. Yeats. [Motion picture script]. [n.p. **1957**].

Trypanis, C.A. *King Oedipus*. *Sophocles: Three Theban Plays*. It was performed at the National Theatre, London, and in the U.S.A. It was also used in radio broadcast by BBC for its Third Programme in **1957-58**.

Cook, Albert. *Oedipus Rex*. It was performed at the Cleveland Playhouse, **1958**.

Cavander, Kenneth. *Oedipus the King*. It was produced at the Mermaid Theatre, London, in **1965**.

Burgess, Anthony. *Sophocles: Oedipus the King*. Trans. and adapted by Anthony Burgess with comments by Anthony Burgess, Michael Langham and Stanley Silverman. It was performed at the Guthrie Theater, Minneapolis, and directed by Michael Langham in **1972**.

Yeats, W.B. *Sophocles' King Oedipus*. It was produced by Michael Cacoyannis at the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, in **1973**.

Bagg, Robert. *Oedipus the King by Sophocles*. It was produced at the Department of Theater, University of Utah, in August **1980**.

Spender, Stephen. *King Oedipus*. *The Oedipus Trilogy*. It was performed, and directed by Gordon Mcdougall at the Oxford Playhouse, Oxford, in **1981**.

Fagles, Robert. *Oedipus the King*. State University of New York, Plattsburgh. Spring **1982**.

Spender, Stephen. *King Oedipus*. *The Oedipus Trilogy*. It was performed at the Oxford Playhouse, Oxford, for two weeks in March **1983**.

Spender, Stephen. *King Oedipus*. *The Oedipus Trilogy*. It was performed at the Arts Theatre, Cambridge, for one week in **1983**.

Fagles, Robert. *Oedipus the King*. Equity Guest Artist Production, Program in Theater and Dance, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ. December **1983**.

---. *Oedipus the King*. St. Louis Community College, St. Louis, Missouri. September **1984**.

---. Oedipus the King. B.B.C., Radio 3, World Theatre, London. February 3, **1985**.

---. *Oedipus the King*. The Educational Theater Program, The University of Lethbridge, Alberta. February 4-9, **1985**.

---. *Oedipus the King*. The Contact Theatre Company, University Theatre, Manchester. April 17-May 11, **1985**.

---. *Oedipus the King*. At Caerleon Gwent. March 9, **1986**.

---. *Oedipus the King*. Roman Court Theatre. London. January, May **1986**. 4 performances.

Taylor, Don. *Oedipus the King*. *The Theban Plays*. It was used in a BBC-TV production in autumn **1986**.

Fagles, Robert. *Oedipus the King*. Birmingham Old Repertory Theatre. February 28, **1987**.

---. *Oedipus the King*. Newport Dalman Theatre. March 25, **1987**.

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